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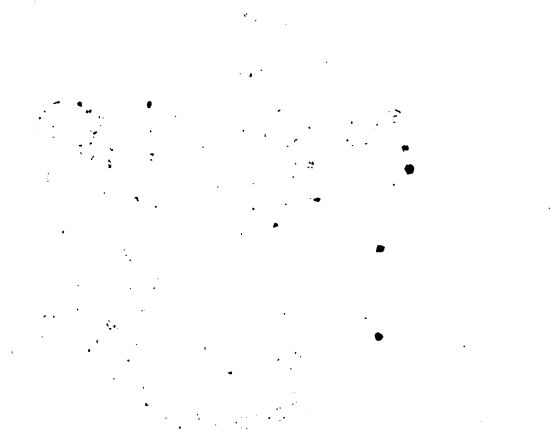
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The University of Chicago

THE INFLUENCE OF OVID ON CRESTIEN DE TROYES

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND LITERATURE
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE



BY
FOSTER E. GUYER

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PREFACE

This essay is an abstract of a dissertation presented to the Faculty of the University of Chicago.

The work has been done at the suggestion and under the direction of Professor W. A. Nitze, to whom I am greatly indebted for assistance and criticism. My interest in the French language and literature was first awakened under the stimulating instruction of Professors L. H. Dow and P. O. Skinner at Dartmouth College and later developed by scholarly inspiration from Professors W. A. Nitze, T. A. Jenkins, Karl Pietsch, E. P. Dargan, E. H. Wilkins, and T. P. Cross. They have offered many helpful suggestions. Thanks are also rendered to Professor S. G. Patterson for friendly interest and the loan of books from his personal library, and to Professor Raymond Weeks for various kind offices.

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THE INFLUENCE OF OVID ON CRESTIEN DE TROYES

THE purpose of this study is to set forth, in the briefest manner possible, the influence of Ovid on Crestien de Troyes.¹ This influence appears particularly in the love-treatment in all the works of Crestien that have come down to us with the exception of *Erec et Enide* and *Guillaume d'Angleterre*. There is still some doubt as to whether our Crestien wrote the last named poem. Leaving the *Guillaume*, therefore, out of consideration for the moment, it may be said that the influence of Ovid on Crestien's conception of love marks a clearcut division in our author's literary development. Thus the chronological order of Crestien's work will, incidentally, be established as that in which the poet listed them himself in his prologue to *Cligès*, with the *Ovidiana*, which mark the beginning of the French poet's infatuation with Ovid, following *Erec*. The tale of *Guillaume d'Angleterre* presents especial difficulties because its love-situations resemble Crestien's earlier manner and yet the work is not mentioned in the prologue to *Cligès*. It will appear, however, in the course of our study that the poem in question was written either by another than Crestien de Troyes or, if by our poet, then early in his career before he adopted the Ovidian love-psychology.

It is remarkable that so attractive a theme has never received careful and adequate attention. As early as 1883 Gaston Paris called attention to the fact that the idea of treating love as a science must have had its origin in Ovid's *Ars amatoria*, and thus indicated

¹ Professor W. A. Nitze has aided the author of this article greatly by his advice and extensive criticism. The writer is also indebted in a similar manner to Professor T. A. Jenkins, Professor E. P. Dargan, and Professor T. P. Cross.

an interesting chapter in the critical study of Crestien's poems. After pointing out that Ovid's treatment of love resembles chivalric love as portrayed by Crestien, he closed his short discussion with the statement that other analogies would easily be discovered by anyone who would study the problem with care.² W. A. Nitze mentions the "evident analogies that the love situations of Crestien's poems offer to Ovid."³ Karl Heyl⁴ speaks of Ovid as the leader and master of courtly poets in the North of France and indicates some influences of Ovid on Crestien as one of a group of writers who took Ovid as an authority in matter and in form. Pio Rajna points out a single case of Ovid's influence on Crestien's *Perceval*.⁵ Wilibald Schroetter⁶ compares the beginning of the lyric *Amors, tançon et bataille*, attributed to Crestien, to lines from Ovid's *Amores*. Edmond Faral suggests the need of a comprehensive study of Ovid's influence on French literature of the second half of the 12th century, especially on Crestien de Troyes.⁷

The evidence in support of our major thesis will be presented first in detail, the conclusions to be deduced will then be set forth, and lastly the incidental determination of a new chronology of Crestien's works will be elucidated.

A

MENTION OF OVID OR OF OVIDIAN CHARACTERS

Cligès

Crestien informs us himself that he translated or adapted some of Ovid's works. This information is to be found in the opening

² Gaston Paris, "Le conte de la charrette," *Romania*, XII (1883), 519.

³ "Sans et matière dans les œuvres de Chrétien de Troyes," *Romania*, XLIV (1915), 28.

⁴ *Die Theorie der Minne in den ältesten Minneromanen Frankreichs*. Marburg dissertation, 1911; reviewed by Kuechler in *Zeitsch. für franz. Sprache und Lit.*, 1912, II, 20-44.

⁵ *Le Fonti dell'Orlando Furioso*,² Firenze, 1900, 87, n. 1. My attention was called to this note by Professor P. O. Skinner.

⁶ *Ovid und die Troubadours*, Halle, 1908, 44; reviewed by Vossler, *Ltbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, II (1909), 63 ff., and by Jeanroy, *Annales du Midi*, XXI (1909), 517 ff.

⁷ "Ovide et quelques autres sources du roman d'Enéas," *Rom.*, XL (1911), 161, and *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois*, Paris, 1913.

lines of *Cligès* where the poet gives a list of several, though perhaps not all of his earlier works:

Cil qui fist d'Erec et d'Enide,
Et les Comandemanz Ovide
Et l'Art d'Amors an romanz mist
.
Et de la Hupe et de l'Aronde
Et del Rossignol la Muance,

Les Comandemanz Ovide et l'Art d'Amors may be the title of a single work or two works of Crestien may be implied. This work may be a translation or adaptation in French of one Ovidian poem. In that case Crestien refers obviously to the *Ars amatoria*. The French poet may have translated two works of Ovid; and he may mean by the *Comandemanz Ovide* Ovid's *Remedia amoris*. The latter interpretation seems the more probable on account of the extensive use that our poet has made of the *Remedia amoris* as will appear from the evidence to be presented below. *De la Hupe et de l'Aronde et del Rossignol la Muance* is clearly a translation or adaptation of Ovid's tale of Philomela in the *Metamorphoses* (VI, 426 ff.).

In *Cligès* four Ovidian characters are mentioned; Narcissus, Medea, Helen and Paris. Medea's native country Thessaly is also mentioned. The story of Narcissus (*Met.* III, 339 ff.) is briefly related (2766 ff.) and *Cligès* is compared to that Ovidian character. Thessala, Fenice's nurse, is said to know more of witchcraft and enchantments than Medea (3030; see *Metamorphoses* VII, 10 ff.). Thessala was born in Thessaly (3006). The probability that the influence at this point comes from Ovid is increased by the fact that one of Soredamor's monologues (897 ff.) appears to be modeled directly on that of Medea (*Met.* VII, 10 ff.). *Cligès'* proposal to take Fenice to his uncle's land may easily have been suggested to Crestien by that of Paris to Helen in Ovid's *Epistolae* (XV, 175 ff.). Paris tells of the extent of his father's realm and of the crowds that will welcome Helen in the magnificent city of Troy; and *Cligès* says:

5299

Qu'onques ne fu a si grant joie.
Elainne receüe a Troie

Quant Paris l'i ot amenee
 Qu'ancor ne soit graindre menee
 Par tote la terre le roi,
 Mon oncle, de vos et de moi.

- Epist.* XV, 179 Ilion adspicies firmataque turribus altis
 Moenia, Phoebeae structa canore lyrae.
- 183 Occurrent denso tibi Troades agmine matres,
 Nec capient Phrygias atria nostra nurus.
- 331 Ibis Dardanias ingens regina per urbes,
 Teque novam credet vulgus adesse deam,
 Quaque feres gressus, adolebunt cinnama flammae,
 Caesaque sanguineam victima planget humum.
 Dona pater fratresque et cum genetrice sorores
 Iliadesque omnes totaque Troia dabit.

Lancelot

Lancelot is compared to Pyramus (382; see *Met.* IV, 55 ff.).

B

INSTANCES WHERE DIRECT BORROWING IS SHOWN BY SIMILARITY OF IDEA AND LANGUAGE

*Philomena*⁸

The description of the heroine's mental ability and acquirements (177-204), which is absent from Ovid's tale in the *Metamorphoses*, is based directly on the *Ars amatoria*. The parallel passages follow:

Phil., 177-9 Games that Philomena knows are listed.

Ars, III, 353 ff. Ovid wishes his pupil to be able to play a great many games.

The study of literature is mentioned by both authors (*Phil.* 194-5 and *Ars*, III, 329 ff.).

Singing and playing musical instruments:

⁸ *Philomena* is here considered as a genuine work of Crestien de Troyes. The text has been published in a critical edition by C. de Boer, Paris, 1909. See de Boer's introduction for a discussion of the authenticity of this work.

Phil. 196 Et, quant li plot, li antremetre
 Et del sautier et de la lire.
 Plus an sot qu'an ne porroit dire
 Et de la gigue et de la rote.
 Soz ciel n'a lai ne son ne note
 Qu'el ne seüst bien viëler,

Ars, III, 317 Et modo marmoreis referant audita theatris
 Et modo Niliacis carmina lusa modis!
 Nec plectrum dextra, citharam tenuisse sinistra
 Nesciat arbitrio femina docta meo:

 Disce etiam duplici genialia nablia palma
 Verrere:

Hunting and embroidery are substituted by Crestien for dancing that Ovid recommends.

Cligès

I

Cligès, 444 Et la reïne voiremant
 I amena Soredamors,
 Qui desdeigneuse estoit d'amors.
 Onques n'avoit oï parler
 D'ome qu'ele deignast amer,
 Tant eüst biauté ne proesce
 Ne seignorie ne hautesce.
 Et neporquant la dameisele
 Estoit tant avenanz et bele,
 Que bien deüst d'amors aprendre,
 Se li pleüst a ce antrandre;
 Mes onques n'i vost metre antante.
 Or la fera Amors dolante
 Et mout se cuide bien vengier

Met., XIV, 668 Concubitusque fugis, nec te coniungere curas.
 Atque utinam velles! Helene non pluribus esset
 Sollicitata procis, nec quae Lapitheia movit
 Proelia, nec coniunx timidi, aut audacis Ulixis.
 Nunc quoque, cum fugias aversisque petentes,

Mille viri cupiunt et semideique deique
Et quaecumque tenent Albanos numina montes.

Ultioresque deos et pectora dura perosam
Idalien memoremque time

In these two passages Soredamors and Pomona resemble each other by their attractiveness to men and their disdain of love. Both Ovid and Crestien mention the vengeance of Love. It is interesting to note, as well, that both authors give pretended derivations of the names of their heroines (*Met.* XIV, 624 ff., *Cligès*, 962 ff.).

2

Cligès, 460

Bien a Amors droit assené
Qu'el cuer l'a de son dart ferue.
Et maugré suen amer l'estuet
Chieremant achate et conpere
Son grant orguel et son dedaing.

944

Par force a mon orguel donté
Si m'estuet a son pleisir estre.
Or vuel amer, or sui a mestre,
Or m'aprandra Amors—

1030

Mes toz jorz m'an sui estrangiee;
Si le me fet chier comparer;
Qu'or an sai plus que bués d'arer.

Amores I, 2, 7

Sic erit: haeserunt tenues in corde sagittae,
Et possessa ferus pectora versat Amor
Cedimus an subitum luctando accendimus ignem?
Cedamus! leve fit, quod bene fertur, onus:
Verbera plura ferunt, quam quos iuvat usus aratri,
Detractant prensi dum iuga prima boves;
Acrius invitos multoque ferocius urget,
Quam qui servitium ferre fatentur, Amor.

En ego confiteor: tua sum nova praeda, Cupido;
 Porrigimus victas ad tua iura manus.
 Nil opus est bello:

Soredamors' struggle against her love for Alixandre ending in her defeat at the hands of Cupid forms a little psychological drama (444-529 and 873-1046) based on *Amores* 1, 2. Crestien has imagined the situation of a lover who resists and thereby suffers the punishment that Ovid avoids by yielding to Love at once. It is to be noted especially that Crestien has taken over Ovid's figure of the ox compared to a lover who has struggled against the yoke of Love at first but later has learned to like it.

Within this drama Crestien has used *motifs* from the episodes of Narcissus and of Medea and Jason in the *Metamorphoses*:

3

- Cligès*, 474 Ses iauz de traïson ancuse
 Et dit: "Oel! vos m'avez traïe!

 Que iauz ne voit, ne cuers ne diaut;
 489 Se je nel voi, riens ne m'an iert."

Met. III, 430 Quid videat, nescit: sed quod videt, uritur illo,
 Atque oculos idem, qui decipit, incitat error.

 440 Perque oculos perit ipse suos.

4

- Cligès*, 894 El torner a folie atorne,
 Tot son panser que a fet.
 Lors recomance un autre plet
 Et dit: "Fole! qu'ai je a feire,
 Se cist vaslez est de bon' eire
 Et sages et courtois et preuz?
 A Tot ce li est enors et preuz.
 Et de sa biauté moi que chaut?
 B Sa biautez avuec lui s'an aut!

- Et por quoi pans je plus a lui,
 Se plus d'un autre ne m'agree?
 Ne sai, tote an sui esgaree;
 Car onques mes ne pansai tant
 C A nul home el siecle vivant,
 Et mon vuel toz jorz le verroie,
 Ja mes iauz partir n'an querroie.
 D Tant m'abelist, quant je le voi.
 E Est ce amors? Oil, ce croi.
 Ja tant sovant nel reclamasse,
 Se plus d'un autre ne l'amasse.
 F Or l'aim, bien soit acreanté.—
 Si ne ferai ma volanté?
 Oil, mes que ne li despleise.
 G Ceste volantez est mauveise;
 H Mes Amors m'a si anvaïe,
 I Que fole sui et esbaïe,
 J Ne deffanse rien ne m'i vaut,
 K Si m'estuet sofrir son assaut.

The above passage is part of a monologue. The monologue is introduced by the statement that Soredamor' suffering from love has turned her reason to folly. Medea's love monologue in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* has a similar introduction. An analysis of the two monologues shows a similar, wavering state of mind in both heroines and eleven identical elements though the order in which these elements occur is different: A, beauty and nobleness of hero; B, heroine refuses to be influenced by that beauty; C, heroine notices that her thoughts center in hero; D, she cannot take her gaze from him; E, she questions herself as to whether she loves; F, she decides that she does love; G, she feels that she is being carried on by her emotions against her better judgment; H, but Love is forcing her; I, her reason weakens before Love; J, she resists in vain; K, she must yield.

- Met.* VII, 10 Et luctata diu, postquam ratione furorem
 Vincere non poterat, "frustra, Medea, repugnas:
 E Nescio quis deus obstat;" ait "mirumque, nisi hoc est,
 F Aut aliquid certe simile huic, quod amare vocatur.
 Nam cur iussa patris nimium mihi dura videntur?
 Sunt quoque dura nimis, cur, quem modo denique vidi,

- C Ne pereat, timeo? quae tanti causa timoris?
 G Excute virgineo conceptas pectore flammās,
 I Si potes, infelix. si possem, sanior essem.
 H Sed gravat invitā nova vis. aliudque cupido,
 Mens aliud suadet. video meliora proboque,
 J Deteriora sequor. quid in hospite, regia virgo,
 Ureris, et thalamos alieni concipis orbis?
 Haec quoque terra potest, quod ames, dare. vivat, an ille
 B Occidat, in dis est.
-
 (Quem, nisi crudelem, non tangat Iasonis aetas
 Et genus et virtus? quem non, ut cetera desint,
 Ore movere potest? certe mea pectora movit.)

- sed non is vultus in illo,
- A Non ea nobilitas animo est, ea gratia formae,

 Ergo ego germanam fratremque patremque deosque
 G Et natale solum, ventis ablata, relinquam?

 H Maximus intra me deus est, non magna relinquam:

 Coniugiumne putas, speciosaque nomina culpae
 Inponis, Medea, tuae? quin aspice, quantum
 G Aggrediare nefas, et dum licet, effuge crimen."

Medea appears momentarily to have conquered her passion but she meets Jason on the same day and her resolutions do not avail.

- Spectat, et in vultu veluti tum denique viso
 Lumina fixa tenet, nec se mortalia demens
 D Ora videre putat, nec se declinat ab illo.

 "Quid faciam, video: nec me ignorantia veri
 K Decipiet, sed amor. servabere munere nostro:

5

Cligès, 603

Si se cele et cuevre chascuns,
 Que il n'i pert flame ne funs

Del charbon, qui est soz la çandre.
 Por ce n'est pas la chalors mandre,
 Einçois dure la chalors plus
 Dessoz la çandre que dessus.

Met. IV, 63 *Conscius omnis abest, nutu signisque loquuntur,
 Quoque magis tegitur, tectus magis aestuat ignis.*

6

Cligès, 2766 Plus estoit biaux et avenanz
 Que Narcissus, qui dessoz l'orme
 Vit an la fontainne sa forme,
 Si l'ama tant, quant il la vit,
 Por tant qu'il ne la pot avoir.

Met. III, 339 ff. Story of Narcissus.

7

Cligès, 3367 Car por voir cuide et si s'an prise,
 Qu'il et la forteresce prise.

Amor. II, 12, 7 *Non humiles muri, non parvis oppida fossis
 Cincta, sed est ductu capta puella meo.*

Lancelot

I

Lanc., 569 Et quant plus ne la pot veoir,
 Si se vost jus leissier cheoir
 Et trebuchier a val (from a high tower) son cors.
 Et estoit ja demis defors
 Quant mes sire Gauvains le vit,
 Sel trait arrieres,

Met. V, 291 *Seque jacin vecors e summae culmine turris,
 Et cadit in vultus, discussique ossibus oris
 Tundit humum moriens scelerato sanguine tinctam.*

These passages describe a reckless action caused in each case by love.

2

Lanc., 4650 Tant a au jor vaintre luitié
 Que la nuiz mout noire et obscure
 L'ot mis dessoz sa chape afublé.

Met. XV, 651 Dum dubitant, seram pepulere crepuscula lucem,
 Umbraque telluris tenebras induxerat orbi:

Crestien has made but a slight change in the Ovidian figure.

Yvain

I

Yvain, 880 Et mes sire Yvains de randon,
 Quanqu'il puet, apres esperone.
 Si con girfauz grue randone,
 Qui de loing muet, et tant l'aproche,
 Qu'il la cuide prandre, et n'i toche:
 Einsi fuit cil, et cil le chace
 Si pres, qu'a po qu'il ne l'anbrace,
 Et si ne le par puet ataindre,
 Et s'est si pres, que il l'ot plaindre
 De la destresce que il sant;
 Mes toz jorz au foïr antant.
 Et cil del chacier s'esvertue;

Met. I, 533 Ut canis in vacuo leporem cum Gallicus arvo
 Vidit, et hic praedam pedibus petit, ille salutem;
 Alter inhaesuro similis iam iamque tenere
 Sperat, et extento stringit vestigia rostro;
 Alter in ambiguo est, an sit comprehensus, et ipsis
 Morsibus eripitur tangentialque ora relinquit:
 Sic deus et virgo,
 tergoque fugacis
 Inminet et crinem sparsum cervicibus afflat.

Although Crestien has changed the animals in this figure and although the circumstances of the narrative require other changes,

To this Crestien seems to have added *Heroides* IV, 19 ff. as his source:

Venit amor gravius quo serius: urimur intus:

 Quae venit exacto tempore, peius amat.

5

Yvain, 2719 Le desleal, le traïtor,
 Le mançongier, le jangleor,
 Qui l'a leissiee et deceüe.
 " Bien a sa jangle aparceüe,
 Qui se feisoit verais amerre,
 S'estoit faus et traître et lerre.

 Si a teus, qui larrons les claimment,
 Qui an amor vont faunoiant

 Et cil sont larron ipocrite
 Et traïtor, qui metent luite
 As cuers anbler, dont aus ne chaut;

Ars III, 441 Sunt, qui mandaci specie grassentur amoris
 Perque aditus talis lucra pudenda petant.
 Nec coma vos fallat liquido nitidissima nardo
 etc.
 Forsitan ex horum numero cultissimus ille
 Fur sit et uratur vestis amore tuae.

6

Yvain, 4348 Et met son cuer an tel esprueve,
 Qu'il le retient et si l'afrainne,
 Si con l'an retient a grant painne
 Au fort frain le cheval tirant.

Amores,
 II, 9, 29 Ut rapit in praeceps dominum spumantia frustra
 Frena retentantem durior oris equus,

In spite of the difference in the context it is clear that Crestien took

his figure from Ovid, who compares the impetuousness of his love to a hard-mouthed horse.

7

Yvain, 4570

Et cil furent ars an la re,
Qui por li ardoir fu esprise;
Car ce est reisons de justise,
Que cil, qui autrui juge a tort,
Doit de cele meisme mort
Morir que il li a jugiee.

Ars I, 653

Et Phalaris tauro violenti membra Perilli
Torruit: infelix inbuit auctor opus.
Iustus uterque fuit: neque enim lex aequior ullast,
Quam necis artifices arte perire sua.

Perceval

3817
(Potvin, 5029)

Que l'une chose l'autre atret.
N'en fist il apres tot son bien?
Oil ce ne crese ja nus
Qu'il la beisast sanz fere plus
Que l'une chose l'autre atret.

.
Fame qui sa boche abandone
Le soreplus de legier done
C'est qui a certes le demant
E bien soit qu'ele se desfant
Si set an bien tot sans redot
Que fame vialt vaintre partot
Fors a cele meslee sole
Qu'ele tient home par la gole
(E) l'esgratine e mort e tue
Si voldroit ele estre vaincue
Si se desfant e si li tarde
Tant est de l'otroier coarde
Si vialt que a force li face
Si n'an avra ja gré ne grace.

Ars I, 664

Illa licet non det, non data sume tamen!
Pugnabit primo fortassis et "inprobe" dicet:
Pugnando vinci se tamen illa volet;

Oscula qui sumpsit, si non et cetera sumpsit,
Haec quoque, quae data sunt, perdere dignus erit.

Vim licet appelles, gratast vis ista puellis:
Quod iuvat, invitae saepe dedisse volunt.
Quaecumquest Veneris subita violata rapina,
Gaudet, et improbitas muneris instar habet;
At quae cum posset cogi, non tacta recessit,
Ut simulet vultu gaudia, tristis erit.

LYRICS¹⁰

I, 1 Amors, tançon et bataille
Vers son champion a prise,
Qui por li tant se travaille,
Qui a desresnier sa franchise
A tote s'antante mise:

Amores II, 9, 1 Onumquam pro me satis indignate Cupido,
Quid me, qui miles numquam tua signa reliqui,
Laedis, et in castris vulneror ipse meis?

Guillaume d'Angleterre

This poem contains a description of a storm imitated from Ovid, *Tristia* I, 2, 19 ff. The citations are here divided into sections in order to show the comparison between them more clearly.

G., 2303-8 La mers qui or estoit igaus
Est plainne de monz et de vaus,
Et ja font si hautes les ondes
Et les valees si parfondes,
Que il ne pueent estal prandre
Ne de monter ne de desçandre.

T. I, 2, 19-22 Me miserum, quanti montes vulvuntur aquarum!
Iam iam tacturos sidera summa putes.
Quantae diductu subsidunt aequore valles!
Iam iam tacturas Tartara nigra putes.

¹⁰ Only the two lyrics printed by Wendelin Foerster (*Woerterbuch*, 204 ff.) will be considered here. These two were accepted as genuine poems of Crestien de Troyes by Foerster and Gaston Paris (see Foerster, *Wtb.*, 203).

Lancelot

Throughout Crestien's *Lancelot* there runs a theme of extreme tyranny of love, imperious and humiliating treatment by the loved lady, and abject obedience on the part of the lover. Such a conception of love is distinctly Ovidian.¹¹ This matter will be discussed under the head of the nature and effects of love in Ovid and Crestien. The theme in question is developed by a series of episodes which, though mostly of Crestien's own invention, may be due to Ovidian suggestion. Such are (1) the incident of the cart (323 ff.), (2) Lancelot's obedience in ceasing to attack Meleaganz at a word from Guenievre (3806 ff.), (3) Guenievre's refusal to greet Lancelot, her rescuer (3955 ff.), (4) The tournament in which Lancelot plays the coward at the command of the Queen (5656 ff.).

The third of these incidents is undoubtedly of direct Ovidian inspiration. The Queen leaves Lancelot without speaking to him and passes into another room thus shutting herself off from her lover in the manner so frequently recommended by Ovid.¹²

The fourth is probably an adaptation of the *Three Days Tournament*—a widely diffused tale—but it is used by Crestien to serve a purpose suggested by his Ovidian theme.¹³

There are several episodes or incidents in this romance that illustrate other effects of love than that of slavish obedience. Those that are to be considered as due to the influence of Ovid are such as tend to exemplify traits of that poet's conception of love. The incidents will be listed with an indication of the trait that Crestien is treating.

(1) Lancelot's attempt to throw himself from a high tower has

¹¹ The influence of Provençal literature on Crestien and an estimate of its importance is reserved for a later study.

¹² *Ars* II, 523; *Ars* III, 579 ff.; *Amores* II, 19, 20, etc.

¹³ On the *Three Days Tournament* see Jessie L. Weston's book with this title, London, 1902, and the review of the same by W. A. Nitze, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XVIII (1902), 154 ff. Both Miss Weston and Professor Nitze believe that the episode in question was already in a version of Lancelot previous to that of Crestien; and Professor Nitze believes that the cowardice *motif* had been introduced into the episode before Crestien used it. The present author is of the opinion that Crestien is responsible for its introduction in order to show the obedience of the lover to his lady.

already been mentioned above. (2) The feeling of courage and strength without limitation, produced by love, is illustrated by Lancelot's unrestricted promises to the maiden who directs him and his companion Gauvain in their pursuit of Meleaganz (631 ff.). (3) Mental absorption that leads to more or less serious disasters occurs when Lancelot is carried into the ford contrary to the admonition of a knight who then strikes him from his horse into the water (715 ff.). (4) The attempt of a young woman to seduce Lancelot (942 ff.) may have been suggested by the frequent approaches made by women to obtain the love of men in Ovid's works.¹⁴ (5) The sight of some of Guenievre's hair in the teeth of a comb that she has left near a fountain nearly causes Lancelot to faint. Fainting is one of the symptoms of the Ovidian love-sickness. (6) Strength and courage to endure the deep cuts of the sword-bridge are given to Lancelot by love (3126 ff.). (7) Another case of mental absorption tending to partial mental derangement occurs in the first tournament, with Meleaganz when Lancelot is obliged to deliver backward blows because he is unable to turn his gaze away from the Queen (3691 ff.). (8) An adaptation of the Pyramus and Thisbe story furnishes an episode in our romance (4153 ff.). Lancelot is compared to Pyramus (3821). Both Lancelot and Guenievre are led to believe that the other is dead. Lancelot attempts suicide and Guenievre contemplates it. The fact that neither accomplishes actual suicide does not lessen the probability that Crestien is adapting Ovid's plot to his own needs.¹⁵

¹⁴ Echo (*Met.* III), Scylla (*Met.* VIII), Byblis (*Met.* IX), Myrrha (*Met.* X), etc.

For a discussion of the same situation in Celtic stories, see T. P. Cross, "The Celtic Elements in the Lays of Lanval and Graelent," *Mod. Phil.*, XII (1914-1915), 594 ff.

¹⁵ The twelfth century version of Ovid's story (edited by C. de Boer, *Pyrame et Thisbé, texte normand du XII^e siècle* in *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeeling Letterkunde* (Nieuwe Reeks), Deel XII, n° 3, 1911), may be, in part, responsible for Crestien's interest in this tale. A similar situation is to be found in *Erec et Enide* (4608 ff.). Enide, believing Erec to be dead is about to kill herself with Erec's sword. There is an apostrophe of Death that recalls *Pyrame et Thisbé*. In Erec we have the following lines:

4656 Morz que demore et que atant,
 Que ne me prant sanz nul respit?

Incident 7 is almost certainly due to a suggestion from the *Amores*. Here Ovid states that, if he were driving horses in a race under the eyes of his mistress, he would be spurred on to great efforts; but if he should happen to gaze upon her the reins would fall from his hands. Then he cites the case of Pelops who was nearly killed by his opponent while he was looking toward his mistress; and yet his final victory was due to the favor of his mistress. Lancelot's situation is similar. While looking backward at his mistress, and unable to take his eyes from her, he is in danger of being quickly killed, but when he manages to get Meleaganz between himself and the Queen he defeats his opponent because of the strength that the sight of Guenievre gives him.

The passages follow:

Lancelot, 3691 Ne puis l'ore qu'il l'aparçut
Ne se torna ne ne se mut
Devers li ses iauz ne sa chiere,
Ainz se deffandoit par derriere.

3727 Lors saut arriere et fet son tor
Et met antre lui et la tor
Melegant trestot a force

3738 Et force et hardemanz li croist,
Qu'amors li fet mout grant aïe

Amor. Si mihi currenti fueris conspecta, morabor,
III, 2, 13 De que meis manibus lora remissa fluent.
At quam paene Pelops Pisaea considit hasta,
Dum spectat vultus, Hippodamia, tuos!
Nempe favore suae vicit tamen ille puellae.
Vincamus dominae quisque favore suae!

In *Pyrame et Thisbé* we read:

754 Morz, que demors? Qar me prens!
He, Morz,
Por quoi demore? c'est granz torz

In *Lancelot*, there is a similar apostrophe to Death:

4281 Ha! morz, con m'as or agueitie,

Crestien used the suicide *motif* of this Ovidian tale again in *Yvain* (3496 ff.). See below.

Yvain

I

Yvain first sees Laudine at the funeral of her dead husband; he is so deeply impressed by her beauty in the midst of her mourning that he immediately falls in love with her.

1406 Quant an ot anfoï le mort,
 S'an partirent totes les janz
 Clers ne chevaliers ne serjanz
 Ne dame n'i remest que cele,
 Qui sa dolor mie ne cele.

The grief of Laudine is described at length and her beautiful hair and her weeping are dwelt upon. This episode was clearly suggested to Crestien by the following lines of the *Ars amatoria* which Crestien himself tells us he turned into French (*Cligès*, 3) :

III, 431 Funere saepe viri vir quaeritur : ipse solitis
 Crinibus et fletus non tenuisse decet.

2

The winning of Laudine's love is doubtless elaborated from Ovid's advice to seek the aid of a serving girl enjoying the full confidence of the lady :

Ars I, 351 Sed prius ancillam captandae nosse puellae
 Cura sit ancessus molliet illa tuos.
 Proxima consiliis dominae sit ut illa, videto,
 Neve parum tacitis conscia fida iocis;
 Quod petis, ex facili, si volet illa, feres.
 Illa leget tempus (medici quoque tempora servant),
 Quo facilis dominae mens sit et apta capi.

Crestien has known how to follow these directions to the letter. Yvain's suit would have been hopeless without Lunete; with her help Laudine was quickly won. Lunete had the entire confidence of her mistress; and she knew how to choose the proper moment for each move (1589 ff.).

3

The scene where Yvain is brought before Laudine must be added to those that are due to Ovid's influence (1950). Our hero who never knew fear in the face of gravest dangers now trembles with love-fright. Then follows the confession of love which shows a submissiveness to the will of his lady that recalls Ovidian love. Yvain gives an explanation of the entrance of love through the eyes into the heart which is similar to the reasoning in *Cligès* (474 ff.), noted above and traced for its source to the Narcissus episode of the *Metamorphoses* (*Yvain*, 2013 ff.).

4

The refusal of Laudine to allow Yvain to return drives the latter mad. He flees all human contact and roams in the wilderness for a long time (2775). This is a well known Ovidian theme and it is probable that Ovid's influence was of great importance in Crestien's choice of the *motif*.¹⁶

5

The Pyramus and Thisbe theme reappears in *Yvain* (3490 ff.) in a curiously contorted form. Yvain, cured of his insanity, returns to Laudine's fountain where thoughts of his lady and his grief at having lost her love cause him to faint. As he falls his sword slips from the scabbard and wounds him slightly in the neck. The faithful lion, now accompanying him, believes Yvain is dead. Immediately the lion props the sword against a tree and rushes upon it in an attempt to take its own life. Yvain recovers from his swoon and, moved by the devotion of the lion, is about to kill himself. He is arrested in this intention, however, by the sound of a woman's voice coming from within a nearby chapel. Lunete is imprisoned in the chapel, but she is able to converse with Yvain through a

¹⁶ Among the best examples of this theme in Ovid are those of Biblis (*Met.* IX, 635 ff.) and Canens (*Met.* XIV, 422 ff.). Some scholars believe that Crestien took the theme from the Tristan story (see Foerster, *Wtb.*, 123). A. C. L. Brown ("Iwain, A Study in the Origins of Arthurian Romance," *Harv. Studies and Notes in Phil. and Lit.*, VIII, Boston, 1903) claims that this *motif* was already in Crestien's Celtic source. Cf. W. A. Nitze, "Castle of the Grail," *Elliott Studies*, Johns Hopkins University, 1911, I, 48.

crack in the wall. This crack recalls at once the one through which Pyramus and Thisbe talked (*Met.* IV, 65 ff.). The roles of the lion, the girl, and the young man in the two stories are of course changed about. It is interesting to note also that the scene of the incident in *Yvain* resembles that of the Ovidian tale. In both cases we have a fountain of cold water overshadowed by a single tree, large and handsome, with a small building near by.¹⁷

6

The incident of the burning of Laudine's counsellors, who had urged that Lunete be burned to death, was suggested, in all probability, by a passage in the *Ars amatoria*. There it is stated, as in Crestien, that to inflict upon contrivers of death the punishment of their own wicked inventions is just. The passages have been cited above (under B *Yvain*, 7).

7.

Finally Laudine is won a second time by the aid of Lunete in a manner similar to the first (6556 ff.).

D

Characters

Cligès

The four lovers in this story could never have been imagined without Ovid, as will appear clearly enough from our study of their language and actions. Thessala, Fenice's nurse, is an unmistakable descendant of Ovid's nurses and confidants who aid their mistresses in matters of love. Moreover, Crestien informs us that she was named from the country of Thessaly (3006). This is

¹⁷ For description of the fountains see lines 380 ff. of *Yvain* and *Met.* IV, 88 ff. It is not claimed that the fountain itself was suggested to Crestien by Ovid. Crestien's fountain is identified with a spring actually existing in the Broceliande forest in Brittany (see Foerster, *Wib.*, 29). Crestien may have taken the idea of the fountain from Wace (*ibid.*, 106). On rain springs see G. L. Hamilton, "Storm-Making Springs, Rings of Invisibility and Protection. Studies on the Sources of the Yvain of Chrétien de Troyes," *Rom. Rev.*, II (1911), 355 ff.; V (1914), 213 ff. See also A. C. L. Brown, *op. cit.*, 145, for other-world elements in this scene.

the country of Medea (*Met.* VII, 10 ff.) with whom Crestien compares Thessala. Thessala has magic powers like Medea:

3029 D'anchantemanz et de charaies
 Bien esprovees et veraies
 Plus qu'onques Medea ne sot;

Lancelot

Lancelot is Crestien's closest imitation of an Ovidian lover, suffering extreme peril, hardship, and humiliation in the service of his lady to whom he is abjectly obedient.

Guenievre, the imperious lady, is also modeled on the basis of Ovidian precepts and examples. If she was originally a Celtic fairy-mistress, her original character would have served as an excellent ground figure upon which the Ovidian type as Crestien refashioned it could easily have been superposed.

Yvain

Yvain has many characteristics of the Ovidian lover. His language and actions furnish sufficient evidence.

Laudine is another imperious type, similar to Guenievre, though less pronounced.

Lunete is one of the finest descendants of Ovid's Dipsas (*Amores* I, 8, 2), Cypassis (*Amores* II, 7, 17), and Nape (*Amores* I, 11, 2), to be found in literature, but lifted to a moral plane far above the usual example of this type.

Perceval

The heroine of the only love-episode in *Perceval* (1911 ff. of Baist's text; Potwin, 3127 ff.) resembles Ovid's women by making the love advances herself. She also shows the Ovidian love symptoms.

E

NATURE AND EFFECTS OF LOVE

In the works of Ovid love is frequently personified as a god of irresistible power, as a tyrant who tortures his victims cruelly or

punishes them with great severity. This harshness is sometimes treated as vengeance that Love takes on those who resist his will. He is provided with arrows which wound the hearts of lovers. Within his victims' breasts he enkindles the fire of love. On the other hand, love inspires men with great courage and increases their strength to a remarkable degree.

Ovid also considers love as a science or art that must be learned. In the *Ars amatoria* Ovid poses as the teacher of love. At other times love is a sort of warfare. Love is the leader and the lover is a soldier. In Ovid's works love is also treated as a disease and Ovid becomes the doctor of love in the *Remedia amoris*.

The love-sickness is distinguished from all other diseases by the peculiarity of being both pleasant and painful at the same time. The effects or symptoms of love are paleness, trembling, fear, loss of appetite, sighing, sleeplessness, weeping, crying out, fainting, mental absorption often leading to insane action and causing loss of the senses, insanity, and even death. The disease can be cured by the lover; that is, by a return of affection.

The evidence bearing on this division of our study will be arranged according to the above analysis. Only a small number of references to Ovid's works will be given. Then will follow details from each of Crestien's works except *Erec* and *Guillaume d'Angleterre*. In these two poems the author treats love in a manner free from Ovidian influence.

Ovid

God of love, irresistible:

Her. IX, 25 Quem non mille ferae, quem non Stheneleius hostis,
Non potuit Iuno vincere, vincit Amor.

Met. V, 369 Tu superos ipsumque Iovem, tu numina ponti
Victa domas ipsumque, regit qui numina ponti.

The power of Love appears in *Amores* I, 2.
Love tortures:

Amores I, I, 25 Me miserum! certas habuit puer ille sagittas:
Uror, et in vacuo pectore regnat Amor.

Amores II, 9, 5 Cur tua fax urit, figit tuns arcus amicos?

14 Ossibus? ossa mihi nuda relinquit amor.

Vengeance:

Amores I, 2, 17 Acrius invitos multoque ferocius urget,
Quam qui servitium ferre fatentur, Amor.

Arrows: *Amores* I, 1, 25, etc.

Fire of love: *Amores* I, 1, 26; *ibid.* I, 2, 11, etc.

Love gives courage and strength:

Ovid has given force to this commonplace. Leander braves the cold waves; when he comes within sight of his mistress, his strength is redoubled (*Epist.* XVII, 93-4) and the thought of Hero gives strength to his arms while swimming (161 ff.). Scylla leaps into the sea and swims after Minos' ship. Love gives her strength (*Met.* VIII, 143).

Love, a science or art: *Ars amatoria*.

Love treated as warfare: *Amores* I, 9; II, 12.

Love as a disease—effects or symptoms:

Pleasant and painful: *Amores* I, 8, 104:

Inpia sub dulci melle venena latent.

Rem. Am., 138:

Haec sunt iucundi causa cibusque mali;

Paleness: *Ars* I, 729; *Her.* XI, 27; *Met.* IX, 536, 581; *Met.* X, 459.

Trembling: *Ars* III, 722; *Her.* III, 82; *Met.* IX, 521; X, 458.

Fear: *Ars* I, 608; *Met.* VII, 47; X, 458; XIII, 858.

Loss of appetite: *Her.* XI, 28; *Met.* III, 437; XIV, 424.

Sighing: *Ars* III, 675; *Her.* XVI, 79; *Met.* IX, 537; X, 402; XIII, 739.

Sleeplessness: *Ars* I, 735; *Her.* XI, 29; *Met.* III, 396; VI, 493; VIII, 109.

Weeping: *Her.* VIII, 109; *Met.* III, 475; VII, 91; VIII, 109; IX, 536, 656.

Crying out: *Her.* VIII, 107; *Met.* IX, 643; X, 423.

Fainting: *Her.* II, 130; *Her.* III, 60.

Mental absorption: *Met.* V, 290 ff.; VIII, 140 ff.; III, 339 ff.;
Amor. III, 2, 13.

Insanity: *Ars* III, 713; *Met.* III, 350, 474; IX, 635 ff.; XIV, 422.

Death: *Met.* III, 445, 470, 498, 570; IX, 450; X, 420; XIV, 430.

Cure for love:

1. *Remedia amoris.*

2. Return of affection cures: Paris alone can cure Oenone (*Her.* V, 153-4); Phaedra appeals to Hippolytus (*Her.* IV); Hermione declares that she will die unless Orestes becomes her husband (*Her.* VIII, 121).

Philomena

Several Ovidian elements enter into Crestien's treatment of the love-situation in this story that are not to be found in Ovid's own version. Love is represented as an irresistible god who has attacked Tereus and conquered him by cunning and deceit. By means of quickly flaming fire Love torments him (234 ff.). This description of the inception of love in Tereus' breast is curiously like the beginning of *Amores*, I, 2. The passages follow:

Phil., 234

Qui porroit Amors contrestier
Que trestot son voloir ne face?

Qu'Amors a vers lui prise guerre,
S'est angigniez et mal bailliz,
Qu'au cuer li est li feus sailliz
Qui de legier art et esprant.

Amor. I, 2, 5

Nam, puto, sentirem, siquo temptarer amore.
An subit et tecta callidus arte nocet?
Sic erit: haeserunt tenues in corde sagittae,
Et possessa ferus pectora versat Amor.
Cedimus an subitum luctando accendimus ignem?

Those who rebel are treated more harshly than those who yield:

Phil., 440

Et cil qui plus s'an plaint et diaut
Plus alume et plus an esprant,

These lines also recall *Amores* I, 2:

17 Acrius invitus multoque ferocius urget,
 Quam qui servitium ferre fatentur, Amor.

Love as warfare:

Not only do we find this Ovidian metaphor in *Philomena*, but also, accompanying it several other elements that seem to show that Crestien is directly influenced by *Amores* II, 9. Those elements are the idea of disloyal Love (404) who mistreats his friends (406), who is fickle and changeable as the wind:

Phil., 425 Amors est plus que vanz legiere;
 Por ce est fausse et mançongiere

Amor. II, 9, 31 Ut subitus, prope iam prensa tellure, carinam
 Tangentem portus ventus in alta rapit,
 Sic me saepe refert incerta Cupidinis aura,

Love torments especially his faithful followers (429-32); yet they will not leave his service, for they never tire of loving (433-38). We read in Ovid's elegy:

25 "Vive" deus "posito" siquis mihi dicat "amore,"
 Deprecer: usque adeo dulce puella malumst.

Tereus shows symptoms of love-sickness. He sighs (386, 459), becomes speechless (390), weeps (459), and is even on the verge of madness (392). Lovers are said to cry out on account of the pain of love (400). And Ovid's half line "cura removoente soporem" is expanded into the following:

Phil., 644 Onques Tereus cele nuit
 Ne prist au lit pes ne repos,
 N'onques por dormir n'ot l'uel clos;
 Tant con la nuit dura
 Tote nuit son lit mesura,

 Ou del travers ou del belonc,
 Et se demante par selonc,

Que tant demore qu'il ajorne;
Tote nuit se torne et retorne
Et se relieve et se recouche.

The above passage is evidently based on *Amores* I, 2, 1-4.¹⁸

Esse quid hoc dicam, quod tam mihi dura videntur
Strata, neque in lecto pallia nostra sedent,
Et vacuus somno noctem, quam longa, peregi,
Lassaque versati corporis ossa dolent?

Cligès

- Love personified as a god of irresistible and tyrannical power:
463, 528-9, 663, 933-5, 3012, 4325, 4428, 4464.
Torture of lovers: 573, 666, 692-4, 675, 682, 689, 879, 3820,
3912-14, 4575, 5075, 5100.
Love takes vengeance: 457, 468, 1032.
Love's arrows: 461, 693, 778 ff.
Fire of love: 470, 591-608.
Love gives courage: 3804, 6191.
Love increases strength of lover: 3903, 4122, 4128.
Love as a science: 453-5, 683-6, 946-7.
Love as warfare: 574, 863, 3367-8.
Love as a disease:
Painful and pleasant: 472-3, 478-512, 867 ff., 3070-3120, 4576.
Paleness: 462, 543, 1592, 2118, 2994, 3011, 3016, 3049, 4354-5,
4364, 5126.
Trembling: 544, 883, 887.
Loss of appetite: 4382-3.
Sighing: 544, 887, 4328, 4359, 6229.
Sleeplessness: 621, 877, 882, 2992, 5285.
Weeping: 882, 886, 4294, 4328, 4359, 4365, 4367, 6229.
Crying out: 617, 882.
Mental derangement verging on insanity: 511-12, 626-7, 630, 632,
897, 920, 934, 1643, 3093, 3098, 6058, 6141.
Death: 858, 2300-1, 4350, 4456, 4483, 4519.

¹⁸ No attention will be paid in this essay to the presence in other poems of the period of passages similar to those that are cited from Crestien's works.

Curing the love-sickness: 634-600 (Alixandre refers to Soredamors as the one who could cure him. This manner of expression has already been noted for Ovid), 3093, 3137, 4351, 4380-6, 5071, 5092 ff., 5707 ff., 6255-7.

Crestien has added two symptoms of love-sickness not to be found in Ovid; namely, sweating (462) and yawning (885).

Lancelot

Love personified as an irresistible god: 376 ff., 1245 ff., 1348 ff.

Torture: 1349, 4392. The power and tyranny of Love is usually transferred, in this romance, to the lady; she tries and humiliates the lover, exacting and obtaining implicit obedience: 3816 ff., 3955 ff., 4501, 5656 ff. Crestien's use of this element of the Ovidian love-treatment is very important, for it gives the peculiar tone of Crestien's version of the *Lancelot* story. Although Marie de Champagne and the Provençal poets may have been responsible for the theme of frank adultery in *Lancelot* and though the elevation of the mistress far above the humble lover is characteristic of Provençal poetry, yet it is clear from F. L. Mott's thorough study of Provençal lyrics¹⁹ that the literary theories of the South of France previous to Crestien furnish insufficient material to serve as the source of Crestien's conception of love in this romance. Not only is the lady exalted far above the lover but she is also an imperious and tyrannical mistress and the slavishly obedient lover is subjected to harsh treatment and humiliating commands. The Provençal lover was not reduced to such ignominious slavery.²⁰ Although the lover complained in Provençal lyrics of the cruelty of his mistress, this cruelty was only the withholding of her love and previous to Crestien we do not find cases of actual tormenting of the lover by his mistress in the poems of the troubadours nor do we find humiliations being inflicted upon the lover by his mistress. According to Ovid, however, who is the only model for such a love conception previous to Crestien and accessible to him, the lover must be ready to endure the most shameful humiliations and gladly make himself the slave of his mistress. In imitation of Ovid our author has

¹⁹ L. F. Mott, *The System of Courtly Love*, London, Boston, 1904.

²⁰ Cf. Joseph Anglade, *Les Troubadours*, Paris, 1908, 77.

Guenievre shut her door against Lancelot (3985). The other humiliations to which Lancelot is subjected are inventions of Crestien or of Marie. It was necessary to find new ways of developing this theme because the particular methods of Ovid were not suitable for a romance of the twelfth century.

Evidence of this conception in the works of Ovid is abundant. In the *Ars amatoria*, one of the works of Ovid that Crestien translated, this theme is developed by precept and example. Patience is recommended:

II, 177 Si nec blanda satis, nec erit tibi comis amanti,
Perfer et obdura! postmodo mitis erit.

Ovid teaches obedience to the will of the loved lady; he cites the case of Atalanta's cruelty toward her lover, Milanion, and the trials that he endured. The precepts of Ovid's art require the observance of the following rules:

Ars II, 197 Cede repugnanti: cedendo victor abibis;
Fac modo, quas partis illa iubebit, agas!

The lover must not be ashamed to do anything for the sake of love. The cases of Hercules and of Phoebus Apollo are cited as examples of extreme humiliation endured by lovers (*Ars* II, 209 ff.).²¹

Love as a science: 4372 ff.

Love-sickness:

Paleness: 1448-9; fear (3932, 4495 ff.); loss of appetite (4263); loss of power of speech (1448); loss of hearing (748 ff.); sighing (4721); weeping (3998, 4721); fainting (1437 ff.); mental absorption (564 ff., 3691 ff.); death (supposed death, suicide contemplated, attempted or nearly effected) 4232 ff., 4249, 4276 ff., 4494. The notion of curing this disease occurs (1350 ff., 1584 ff.).

Yvain

Love, a resistless god: 1357, 1442 ff. 2139 ff., 5377 ff., provided with arrows: 5382.

²¹ Other striking passages are: *Amores* II, 17, 1 ff.; *Her.* IV, 154-5; *Her.* IX, 65 ff.; *Epist.* XIX, 77 ff. Many more passages could be cited.

Love's tyranny transferred to lady: 1362, 1975 ff., 4588 ff., 4596.

Love as warfare: 1337 ff.

Love-sickness: fear (1950); sighing (2579, 4352); sleeplessness (2756); weeping (2579, 2615, 2627, 2634); fainting (3497); insanity (2775 ff.); contemplation of suicide or attempted suicide (3532 ff., 6514). The curing of love is discussed (1373, 2551, 5382 ff.) and the lover is referred to as a doctor (1374).

Perceval

In *Perceval* we find love personified as a god whose power is irresistible: 4823 ff.

Love is treated as warfare: 3830 ff.

Love produces the usual physical and mental effects: Trembling (1938-9); sighing (1942); sleeplessness (1926 ff.); weeping (1942); mental absorption and consequent loss of hearing (4206 ff.); madness (8912 ff.). Perspiring occurs also as an effect of love (1929).

LYRICS

In the lyrics love is personified as a god of irresistible power. In the first lyric love is treated as warfare.

F

OID'S INFLUENCE ON CRESTIEN'S STYLE

The twelfth century was a period of renewed interest in the Latin classics in France. Crestien copied the Latin Classics much as the *Pléiade* did in the sixteenth century, taking their literary figures and making them his own in an attempt to develop a richer style. It was on the works of Ovid in particular that Crestien modeled his rhetorical style, copying the Latin poet's dramatic love-monologue and pilfering literary figures. Crestien's lovers, except in *Erec* and in *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, speak in Ovidian terms. In *Philomena*, *Cligès* and the later romances, love is treated in a highly rhetorical manner.

Ovid's *Heroides*, though written in the form of letters, are really psychological analyses of the various lovers' states of mind.

They are, in fact, nothing more nor less than love-monologues in which the supposed writer of each letter reveals his inmost thoughts and feelings. Through the *Metamorphoses* are scattered a number of love-monologues²² in which the speaker gives a natural and complete exposure of the various, disconnected, incoherent thoughts that pass through his mind at a moment of strong emotional excitement. The speaker addresses numerous questions to himself and gives wavering answers which reveal the mental struggle or uncertainty to which the person is subjected. These monologues are preceded or followed by comments on the part of the author so that they appear like little psychological dramas introduced by an author's prologue and followed by his comments.

Crestien has copied exactly this method of procedure as is most clearly evidenced by the comparison that we have made, above, of Medea's monologue (*Met.* VII, 11 ff.) to that of Soredamors (*Cligès*, 879 ff.). Both poets show an equal interest in the psychology of human actions; and they are both clever in analyzing and explaining the motives that underlie the behavior of their characters. The mediaeval poet has put a more strictly logical order into the thoughts of his characters, thinking thereby, no doubt, to improve on his model. Such monologues are found in *Cligès* (475-523, 626-872, 897-1046, 4410-4574), *Lancelot* (4215-4262, 4336-4414), and *Yvain* (1428-1506, 1760-1772, 3531-62).

We have already shown that Crestien copied Ovid's personification of love as a god; and we have noted the French poet's use of the Ovidian metaphors of love as a fire, as a science, as warfare, and as a disease in our discussion of the nature and effects of love in the works of Ovid and of Crestien. The language cannot be separated from the conception. Therefore Crestien, in adopting Ovid's treatment of love necessarily imitated the Latin poet's style.

Additional figures borrowed from Ovid by Crestien in *Cligès* are the metaphor of the strong roots of love:

651 Li miens (love)est si anracinez,
 Qu'il ne peut estre mecenez.

²² See *Metamorphoses*, III, 442 ff.; IV, 108 ff., 148 ff.; VII, 11 ff.; VIII, 44 ff.; IX, 474 ff.; 585 ff., 726 ff.; X, 320 ff., 612 ff.

Cf. Edmond Faral, "Ovide et quelques autres sources du Roman l'Énéas," *Romania*, XL (1911), 229 ff.; also Gaston Paris, *Mélanges de littérature française*, 276.

654 Des que primes cest mal santi,
Se mostrer l'osasse ne dire,
Poissee je parler a mire,
Qui del tot me poist eidier;

This metaphor is taken from the *Remedia amoris*. The command is

91 Principiis obstat:

for love like a tree quickly sends out strong roots. When it was young it could easily have been pulled up. Crestien has this same idea (654 ff.). But soon the roots have grown too deep:

Remedia, 87 Nunc stat in inmensum viribus acta suis.
106 Et mala radices altius arbor agit.²³

The metaphor of the lover storming a castle (*Cligès*, 3367-8) has already been shown to be a borrowing from *Amores* II, 12, 7-8.²⁴

Two Ovidian similes appear in *Cligès*. The first is the comparison of secret love to fire under ashes (*Cligès*, 604-8 and *Met.* IV, 63-4).²⁵ The second is the comparison of the lover to an ox (*Cligès*, 1033 and *Amores* I, 2, 13-14).²⁶

Lancelot contains two Ovidian metaphors other than those that have to do with the nature or effect of love. The first is the figure of sailing and arriving in port. This figure is mingled with that of love as a disease that is cured by the presence of the loved lady. Ovid is very fond of both of these figures and, though Crestien has used them in an original manner, yet we find the two figures of arriving in port and of curing the love-sickness combined by Ovid also at the end of the *Remedia amoris*. Both passages follow:

Lancelot, 1582 "Mout ai or bien et droit nagie
Qu'a mout buen port sui arivez.
Or sui je toz descheitiez:

²³ This metaphor had already been used in *Philomena*:

443 Amors est maus don la mecine
L'anfermete plus anracine.

²⁴ See our section B, above; seventh citation from *Cligès*.

²⁵ The lines have already been cited above (B, *Cligès*, 5).

²⁶ These passages have been cited above (B, *Cligès*, 2).

De peril sui venuz a port,
 De grant enui a grant deport,
 De grant dolor a grant santé;

Remedia, 812 Contigimus portus, quo mihi cursus erat.
 Postmodo reddetis sacro pia vota poetæ,
 Carmine sanati femina virque meo.

The second figure is that of night defeating day at twilight. In Ovid night throws her dark cape over the world; in Crestien night covers the conquered day with her cape (*Lancelot*, 4560 ff. and *Met.* XV, 651-2).²⁷

In *Yvain* love is personified as a god; it is treated metaphorically as a wound (5382), as warfare, and as a disease.²⁸ There is also the metaphor of love being deeply rooted (2525). In addition this romance contains four similes that were unquestionably copied from Ovid or modeled upon figures from his works and a fifth that may have been suggested by Ovid. The first four have been cited above (B)²⁹ as passages showing direct borrowing on the part of Crestien from Ovid. The fifth is the comparison of Gauvain to the sun because he is the greatest of all knights and illumines knighthood just as the sun spreads light in every place where its rays shine. Ovid has a similar passage in praise of Augustus wherein he compares the deeds of the Roman emperor, the most powerful man in the world, to the dazzling light of the sun.

Yvain, 2400 Cil qui des chevaliers fu sire
 Et qui sor toz fu renomez,
 Doit bien solauz clamez.
 Por mon seignor Gauvain le di;
 Que de lui est tot autressi
 Chevalerie anluminee,
 Con li solauz la matinee
 Oevre ses rais et clarté rant
 Par toz les leus, ou il s'espant.

²⁷ Lines already cited above (B, *Lancelot*, 2).

²⁸ See above, section E.

²⁹ Numbers I, 3, 4, 6.

Tristia II, 323 Denique cum meritis impleveris omnia, Caesar,
Pars mihi de multis una caenda fuit,
Utque trahunt oculos radiantia lumina solis,
Traxissent animum sic tua facta meum.

G

SIMILARITIES OF A MISCELLANEOUS NATURE

In *Cligès*, at the end of the long description of the arrow (778 ff.) which is in reality Soledamors, an ingenious trick adds the least touch of raciness by suggesting the beauty of those parts of the body that were covered by the clothing. This procedure may have been suggested by Ovid's use of the same device. In the description of Daphne whom Apollo is pursuing Ovid tells us of the beauty of her eyes, lips, and arms, all of which the pursuer can see, and then adds:

Met. I, 502 Si qua latent melior putat.

Crestien has used more words and his treatment is less graceful.

Cligès, 848 Mout volantiers, se je seüsse,
Deüsse, ques an est la fleche:
Ne la vi pas, n'an moi ne peche,
.
Car la fleche iere el coivre mise:
C'est li bliauz et la chemise,
Don la pucele estoit vestue.

Fenice, in her long monologue, while trying to persuade herself that Cligès loves her, has a momentary hesitation that reminds one of a similar hesitation of Medea in her thoughts of Jason. They wonder whether the men they love would deceive them; and both decide that the appearance and manner of the heroes warrant perfect confidence in their honor. This situation and the language used by Crestien recall also to the reader of Ovid that passage in the *Ars amatoria* wherein the Roman poet warns his fair pupils against deceitful men.

Cligès, 4435 Car tes i a, qui par losange
 Dient nes a la jant estrange:
 "Je sui toz vostre et quanque j'ai,"
 Si sont plus jeingleor que jai.
 Donc ne me sai a quoi tenir;
 Car ce porroit tost avenir,
 Qu'il le dist por moi losangier.

But his appearance proves that

4447 N'i ot barat ne tricherie.
 4566 Mes *Cligès* est tes chevaliers,
 Si biaux, si frans et si leaus,

that Fenice cannot fail to follow the dictates of her heart.

Met. VII, 39 Atque ope nescio quis servabitur advena nostra,
 Ut per me sospes sine me det lintea ventis,
 Virque sit alterius, poenae Medea relinquer?
 Si facere hoc, aliamve potest praeponere nobis,
 Occidat ingratus, sed non is vultus in illo,
 Non ea nobilitas animo est, ea gratia formae,
 Ut timeam fraudem meritique obliviam nostri
 Et dabit ante fidem.

Ars III, 433 Sed vitate viros cultum formamque professos,
 Quique suas ponunt in statione comas!
 Quae vobis dicunt, dixerunt mille puellis:
 Errat et in nulla sede moratur Amor.

441 Sunt, qui mendaci specie grassentur amoris
 Perque aditus talis lucra pudenda petant.

Lines 435-6 of the latter citation are a possible source of 4433-4 of *Cligès*:

Que c'est une parole usee,
 Si repuis tost estre amusee;

There is certainly a reminiscence of Ovid in the statement that Fenice's door was not closed against *Cligès*:

5160 Et bien sachiez, ne li fu mie
Li huis a l'ancontre fermez.

In Ovid the lady's door is often closed against her lover. Ovid even recommends this procedure to ladies.³⁰

In *Lancelot* Crestien has used a device, similar to the one noted in *Cliges*, to heighten the interest of his narrative by suggesting something unconventional that is left untold. This method of introducing a racy touch was probably suggested to Crestien by his reading in Ovid.

Lancelot, 4695 Une joie et une mervolle
Tel qu'onques ancor sa paroille
Ne fu oïe ne seüe;
Mes toz jorz iert par moi teüe,
Qu'an conte ne doit estre dite.
Des joies fu la plus eslite
Et la plus delitable cele
Que li contes nos test et cele.

In describing a similar circumstance Ovid said in the *Ars amatoria*:

II, 703 Conscius, ecce, duos accepit lectus amantes:
Ad thalami clausas, Musa, resiste fores!³¹

At the end of a similar description in an elegy to the beauties of Corinna we read:

Amores I, 5, 25 Cetera quis nescit? lassi requievimus ambo.
Proveniant medii sic mihi saepe dies!

And in the *Epistles* between Hero and Leander:

XVII, 105 Cetera nox et nos et turris conscia novit
Quodque mihi lumen per vada monstrat iter:

³⁰ Cf. *Ars* III, 70, 580 ff.; *Amores* I, 6. I, 9, 8; III, 8, 6, etc.

³¹ There follows a description of a portion of the joy of the lovers, nevertheless; and though the description is quite different from that in Crestien's *Lancelot* (4669 ff.), or from that in *Erec* (2071 ff.), there is a possibility that the idea of treating such a situation, or the justification for so doing, may have been suggested by this passage in the *Ars amatoria* or by others or Ovid (cf. *Amores* I, 5; III, 7).

- XVIII, 62 Pectora nunc nostro iuncta fovere sinu
 Multaque praeterea linguae reticenda modestae,
 Quae fecisse iuvat, facta referre pudet.

Meleaganz accuses Guenievre of unfaithfulness in terms that recall a bit of Ovid's feminine psychology:

- 4776 Bien est voirs que mout se foloie
 Qui de fame garder se painne:
 Son travail i pert et sa painne;
 Que ainz la pert cil qui la garde
 Que cil qui ne s'an done garde.

This should be compared with *Amores* III, 4, 1 ff.:

Dure vir, inposito tenerae custode puellae
 Nil agis: ingenios quaeque tuenda suo.
 Cui peccare licet, peccat minus: ipsa potestas
 Semina nequitiae languidiora facit.
 Desine, crede mihi, vitia irritare vetando:

Yvain

There is, in this romance, a slight reflection of Ovid's theory that women desire the love that they refuse:

- Yvain*, 1638 La dame set mout bien et panse
 Que cele la consoille an foi;
 Mes une folor a an soi,
 Que les autres fames i ont,
 Et a bien pres totes le font,
 Que de lor folie s'ancusent
 Et ce qu'eles vuelent refusent.

- Ars* I, 664 Illa licet non det, non data sume tamen!
 Pugnabit primo fortassis et "inprobe" dicet:
 Pugnando vinci se tamen illa volet;

THE INFLUENCE OF OVID ON CRESTIEN DE TROYES

CONCLUSIONS

Except for an incident modeled on the suicide *motif* of the Pyramus and Thisbe story (4608 ff.),³² there is no marked influence of Ovid on *Erec et Enide*. In *Guillaume d'Angleterre* the description of the storm (2303) is copied from Ovid, but otherwise this tale seems also to be free from Ovidian influence. *Philomena*, of course, is an adaptation of Ovid's story of Philomela. We have seen that Crestien amplified the description of the heroine and also the love-treatment in this story by the help of suggestions from the *Ars amatoria* and the *Remedia amoris*.

Our main interest lies in *Cligès*, *Lancelot*, and *Yvain*. Whereas in *Erec* love is treated rapidly and naturally, in these romances the love-treatment becomes rhetorical. An entirely new psychology of love is developed. And it will probably be admitted by all students of Crestien that the psychological analysis of love is the essential element of these poems. That analysis above all distinguishes them and explains their widespread popularity and influence in the Middle Ages.

It cannot be too emphatically stated that Crestien was not primarily interested in the telling of a popular tale. His own words are enough to convince us; for in *Erec* he expresses his scorn of those who can earn their living by mere story telling.³³ His desire is to use a tale of adventure in order to transform it into

Une mout bele conjointure,³⁴

³² See note 15, above. See also note 31, above.

³³ *Erec*, 20 ff. No evidence has been advanced that would justify us in doubting the genuineness of Crestien's prologue to *Erec*. See Cohn, *ZffSL*, XXXVIII (1911-12), 95 ff.; Foerster, *Wib.*, 54, note; Meyer-Lübke, *ZffSL*, XLIV (1916-17), I, 136; Nitze, *Mod. Phil.*, XI (1914), 2.

³⁴ *Erec*, 24. On the meaning of the word *conjointure*, see Nitze, *Rom.* XLIV (1915), 16, n. 1.

that is, a literary combination, a romance. Crestien asserts that he is going to use this romance to show

16 Que cil ne fet mie savoir
 Qui sa sciance n'abandone
 Tant con Deus la grace l'an done.

and

4 Por ce fet bien qui son estuide
 Aterne a san, quel que il l'et;

Thus our author shows the moral and intellectual value that he attaches to his work quite apart from the mere story. He is writing for fame as surely as any poet of the sixteenth century:

24 (His poem) toz jorz mes iert an memoire
 Tant con durra crestiantez;
 De ce s'est Crestiens vantez.

He is deeply interested in the learning that has passed from the Ancients into France. He considers it his duty to cultivate that learning in order that he may do all he can to increase it and keep the honor of it in France.³⁵

Learning was in Crestien's mind the essential quality of a poet. He applied his learning in *Cligès*, *Lancelot*, and *Yvain* to the study of love, which was, in his eyes, a science.

The recognized authority on matters of love in Crestien's time was Ovid. The evidence in support of this statement is so well known by scholars that its truth is generally recognized. We have the actual statement of Honorius of Autun,³⁶ a preacher of this epoch, that the people of his day who were interested in love read Ovid. The great popularity of this poet in scholastic and court circles of the late mediaeval times is well known through the studies of Karl Bartsch,³⁷ Gaston Paris,³⁸ Sedlmayr,³⁹ Specht,⁴⁰ M. H.

³⁵ *Cligès*, 30 ff.

³⁶ "Speculum ecclesiae," Migne, *Pat. lat.*, CLXXII, 1086.

³⁷ Karl Bartsch, *Albrecht von Halberstadt und Ovid in Mittelalter*, Quedlinburg, 1861.

³⁸ Gaston Paris, *Chrétien Legouais et quelques autres traducteurs ou imitateurs d'Ovide*, *Histoire litt. de la France*, XXIX, 455 ff.; *La littérature française au moyen âge*, Paris, 1890, 151; *La poésie du moyen âge, première série*, Paris, 1895, 189.

Kuehn,⁴¹ Traube,⁴² Manitius,⁴³ Otto Denk,⁴⁴ Sudre,⁴⁵ Schroetter,⁴⁶ Faral,⁴⁷ and Schevill.⁴⁸

That Crestien's conception of love in these romances is based on that of Ovid, is clear from the evidence that we have advanced. Crestien tells us that he turned some of Ovid's works into French. We know how he adapted and amplified his model in *Philomena*. In his other works appear themes taken from the *Amores*, *Heroides*, *Ars amatoria*, *Remedia amoris*, and the *Metamorphoses*, and the description of a storm from the *Tristia*. We have been able to show direct copying from Ovid in twenty passages from Crestien's works. Many figures of speech in Crestien's poems are taken from those of the Roman poet. The long love monologues in Crestien's romances are modeled upon Ovid's and in some cases are composed of elements taken directly from the works of the teacher and doctor of love. The language of the French poet's lovers and their conduct as lovers is Ovidian. The nature of love as depicted in these romances and its effects upon Crestien's lovers are also Ovidian.

The malady of love, its symptoms, effects, and cure had been treated since the time of Hypocritus and Galen in medical works.⁴⁹

³⁹ H. Sedlmayr, "Beitraege zur Geschichte der Ovidstudien im Mittelalter," *Wiener Studien*, VI (1884), 142 ff.

⁴⁰ F. A. Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland von den aeltesten Zeiten bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1885.

⁴¹ M. H. Kuehn, *Prolegomena zu Maître Elies altfranzoesischer Bearbeitung der Ars des Ovid*, Marburg dissertation, 1883.

⁴² Ludwig Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, pub. by Franz Boll, *Einführung in die lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters*, pub. by Paul Lehmann, Muenchen, 1911, II, 113.

⁴³ Manitius, *Philologisches aus alten Bibliotheks-Katalogen bis 1300 in Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, LXVII, *Ergaenzungsheft*, Frankfurt, 1892, 31 ff.

⁴⁴ Otto Denk, *Geschichte des gallo-fraenkischen Unterrichts- und Bildungswesens von den aeltesten Zeiten bis auf Karl den Grossen*, Mainz, 1892.

⁴⁵ Leopold Sudre, *Ovidii Metamorphoseon libros quomodo nostrates medii aevi poetae imitati interpretatique sint*, Disst., Paris, 1893.

⁴⁶ Wilibald Schroetter, *Ovid und die Troubadours*, Halle, 1908; rev. by Vossler, *Literaturblatt für germ. und rom. Philologie*, II (1909), 63.

⁴⁷ Edmond Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois*, Paris, 1913.

⁴⁸ Rudolf Schevill, "Ovid and the Renaissance in Spain," *University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, IV (1913), 1-268.

⁴⁹ See Hilka in Vollmoeller, *Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte*

It is quite possible, as Professor Lowes has suggested, that Crestien and other poets of the Middle Ages may have been acquainted with medical treatises on this disease. If they were, the fact might explain the sources of the symptoms of sweating and yawning that are found in the French romances but not in Ovid.⁵⁰ The principal source of inspiration for this conception, however, is literary.

It is probable, on account of the accumulation of evidence pointing toward Crestien's intimate and extensive knowledge of Ovid, that our poet went directly to the Latin writer for most of his material on love. Ovid was always his justifying authority in this science. To be sure Ovid had been known to the poets of Provence and both his conception of love and his literary treatment of the subject had been copied and adopted by them for over a century⁵¹ when Crestien became interested in this type of love-treatment. Many of Ovid's stories were well known by scholars and were undoubtedly told frequently in public. Latin works of the time imitating Ovid, such as the *Romanticimontis Concilium*⁵² and the *Altercatio de Phyllide et Flora*,⁵³ may have preceded Crestien's works. The date of these Latin poems is, however, undetermined as yet. The same commonplaces of language and attitude are to be found in other French writings of the epoch such as *Eneas* and the poems of Gautier d'Arras. For these reasons it is necessary to suppose that much of what we find in Crestien's treatment of love was current at the time. To how great an extent such was the case, it is difficult to determine. The problem extends beyond the limits of

der romanischen Philologie, VIII, 2, 299; Hjalmar Crohns, "Zur Geschichte der Liebe als Krankheit," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, III (1905), 66 ff.; and J. L. Lowes, "The Loveres Maladye of Hereos," *Mod. Phil.*, XI (1914), 491 ff.

⁵⁰ Cf. M. B. Ogle, "Classical Literary Tradition in Early German and Romance Literature," *MLN*, XXVII (1912), 233-242, p. 238; also *Amer. Jour. of Phil.*, XXXIV (1913), 125 ff.

⁵¹ Cf. Schroetter, *op. cit.*

⁵² Pub. by Georg Waitz in *Zschr. für deutsches Altertum*, VII, 150-157. Cf. Ernest Langlois, *Sources et origine du Roman de la rose*, Paris, 1891, 6; also W. A. Neilson, "The Origins and Sources of the Courts of Love," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, VI (1899), 31.

⁵³ Schmeler, *Carmina burana*, Stuttgart, 1904, 155 ff. Pub. also by Jacob Grimm in *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie*, 1842, 218-229; also by Thomas Wright for the Camden Society, London, in *Poems Attributed to Walter Map*, 1841, 258. Cf. Langlois, *op. cit.*, 9, and Neilson, *op. cit.*, 34.

this essay. Before the solution of the question is possible it will be necessary to establish a much surer chronology of the works of the period both in Latin and in French. We know, however, that Crestien went far beyond the Provençal lyric poets in developing a system of courtly love.⁵⁴ We know that he was the most important single writer to aid in the establishment of the literary vogue of courtly love. Provençal literature, as well as the interest that court ladies such as Eleanor of Poitou and Marie of Champagne took in *précieux* discussions of love questions and in love literature, must have been a great stimulus to Crestien. It is due to them, no doubt, that Crestien turned his attention toward Ovidian love. Nevertheless, remembering that the interest of the high society of the time in questions of love was due to a literary influence on that society and realizing Crestien's intimate and extensive knowledge of Ovid, it is safe to assume that in the matter of love Crestien was an authoritative instructor of those circles for which he wrote. He was clearly the great vulgarizer of Ovidian love doctrine.

The extent to which Celtic material enters into these romances has not been determined and we are, here, in no way concerned with that question. Ovid did not furnish the plots of Crestien's romances. Whether some of his plots were original or what their source may have been, it is not our duty to determine. It would seem probable, however, that at some points Crestien effected an amalgamation of Celtic and Classical elements.

The source of *Cligès* is known. There can be little doubt after the studies of Gaston Paris⁵⁵ and Foerster⁵⁶ that all the material that Crestien could have had in the *conte* on which he states that he based his main plot is contained in a very short tale of *Marques de Rome*,⁵⁷ although that version of the tale is itself of the 13th century. Foerster has shown by detailed analysis that the tale in *Marques de Rome* could not have been taken from *Cligès* but must have been based on Crestien's source.

Starting with this tale, Crestien worked out the first poem to which he gave the name of *roman*⁵⁸ as a "Tristan renouvelé."⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Cf. L. F. Mott, *op. cit.*

⁵⁵ *JdS*, 1902, 446 and 645-655.

⁵⁶ *Wib.*, 58 ff.

⁵⁷ Cited entire by Foerster from Alton's edition in *Cligès*,³ 1910, xxxiii.

⁵⁸ See W. A. Nitze, *Rom.*, XLIV (1915), 31 ff.

Like the *Tristan*, *Cligès* has an *enfances* dealing with the love story of the hero's parents and a second part which tells of the hero's love for the wife of his uncle. In the first part of *Cligès*, the treachery of Angrès and Arthur's campaign against him have been shown by Miss Hopkins⁶⁰ to be modeled on Wace's *Brut* or at least on the *Historia regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

This general structure has been so motivated as to admit an extensive love-treatment based on Ovid in each part. To the bravery of the knight, to his loyalty toward his overlord, and to his sense of personal honor is added in *Cligès* and in *Alixandre* a courtly suavity of manners that springs from gallantry and the exaltation of woman. In the earlier romance of *Erec et Enide* the hero might be compared to Virgil's dignified and self assured Aeneas, but the young knights of *Cligès* have added to their personalities the refined manners that delighted Ovid, who congratulated himself that he lived in an age to which "the rude manners that flourished with our ancient forefathers have not come down" (*Ars am.* III, 126). Soledamors is nothing but a figure on which to hang Ovidian traits of a woman in love. All of these characters are, of course, conceived according to mediaeval, Christian requirements so that the Ovidian elements in their make-up are Crestien's adaptation of those elements to his own needs.

* Fenice is intended to be a model of refinement and good taste and her conduct is placed in sharp contrast to that of Isolt. This keen sense of the conventional in Fenice is not an Ovidian trait. Love affects her, however, in a manner very similar to that in which it affects Ovid's lovers and she reasons and talks like them.

Thessala is also an Ovidian type. Her name itself suggests her origin. She resembles Medea on account of her powers of magic and she was born in the same country. There are several elements in the situation and relationship of Fenice and Thessala strikingly similar to those of Myrrha and her nurse in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (X, 382 ff.). Both nurses have cared for the heroines since their infancy; both find the young ladies of whom they have had charge

⁵⁹ See Foerster, *Cligès*,³ liv, *Wtb.*, 63; Gaston Paris, *JdS*, 1902, 296, 445; Van Hamel, *Rom.*, XXXIII (1904), 465-489.

⁶⁰ Annette Brown Hopkins, *The Influence of Wace on the Arthurian Romances of Crestien de Troyes*, Chicago dissertation, Menasha, Wis., 1913, 34 ff.

suffering from love-sickness and loving a person denied to them by law and custom; in each case a crime must be committed (in *Cligès* the crime is palliated by casuistry); in each case the young lady hesitates to confess and the nurse discovers that the girl is in love; both nurses plead hard, promise secrecy and every kind of help, first to cure any malady by means of medicine or sorcery (for both can furnish medical aid or magic), then to procure the love desired by the maiden; and finally each is able to realize her promise of help (*Cligès*, 3002 ff.). To be sure, a great many divergencies between the two episodes that we have compared could be enumerated. That fact does not invalidate our argument; for it should be remembered that Crestien gathers in various elements from different sources, mingles the whole, transforms everything to suit his own needs, adding much of his own and, in accordance with the literary method of the time, amplifying his material by frequent repetition.

In *Cligès* we have the physical effects of love especially emphasized. There, too, the famous theory of love wounding the heart through the eyes is elaborated on the basis of suggestions to be found in the Narcissus story of the *Metamorphoses* (*Cligès*, 474 ff. and *Met.* III, 430 ff.). This source may not appear obvious at once to all readers. A little explanation, however, will make the matter clear. First it is to be noted that Narcissus is mentioned in this very romance (2767 ff.) and his story is told in brief and commented upon. This fact shows that Crestien was interested in the incident. Note also that Narcissus met his death at the hands of his own eyes which he could not control. It should be realized that Crestien is fond of turning his source about (cf. for example his use of the Pyramus and Thisbe story in *Yvain*, 3490 ff.) or, as here, of having his characters act in a manner exactly contrary to those of the source (cf. for another case, that of Soredamors (*Cligès*, 460 ff.) resisting love instead of yielding as did Ovid in *Amores* I, 2, thereby incurring the punishment that Ovid escaped; this example is that of the whole drama that we have mentioned as being constituted by Soredamors' struggle with her love and which covers her two monologues (B, *Cligès*, 2, above); and the *motif* that we are considering as based on the Narcissus story is set within

the first of these two monologues; so that the author is using the same method in the larger section of his romance that he is using in the smaller section that forms a part of the first). Therefore Soredamors is determined to control her eyes, which hold power over her heart. If her will is strong enough she can turn her eyes away and she would hold herself in slight esteem if she were not able to do so. Ovid says: "it is only what you see that troubles you, Narcissus. You have but to turn away and you will be cured."

Now in Alixandre's monologue the same question is taken up and expanded in the same logical fashion. Allegorizing the whole matter, Soredamors, the sight of whom has inflamed our hero with love, becomes in Crestien's language an arrow, or better still her image becomes an arrow thus wounding Alixandre's heart through his eyes. Thus in his case, as in that of Soredamors his heart and his eyes turn traitors toward him. He says that his own eyes kill him (759). Ovid says of Narcissus:

Met. III, 440 Perque oculos perit ipse suos.

Ovidian borrowings are found in the following lines: 447-55, 456-1034, 1583-1630, 1643, 2117-26, 2281-2301, 2766-72, 2992-3137, 3367-8, 3804-3914, 4122-30, 4293-4302, 4324-4578, 5070-75, 5090-5100, 5126, 5160-2, 5256-8, 5285-6, 5299-5304, 5707-18, 6058, 6141-3, 6191, 6229, 6245-57.

The main plot of Soredamors' love struggle is based directly on *Amores* I, 2. The plot of this drama within the story of *Cligès* is motivated by themes taken from the episode of Narcissus and from that of Medea and Jason in the *Metamorphoses*.

In this romance love is personified as a god of irresistible and tyrannical power, who tortures his victims cruelly—this harshness is sometimes treated as vengeance that Love takes on one who resists his will. He is provided with arrows. He enkindles a fire within the lover's breast. On the other hand, love inspires men with great courage and increases their strength to a remarkable degree. Love is a science or an art that needs to be learned. At other times it is a disease or warfare.

In addition to the metaphors of love as a disease, an art, fire, or a sort of warfare, we have also the figure of the strong roots of

love, the specific metaphor of Alis storming a fortress, and the similes of the lover compared to an ox and of secret love compared to a fire under ashes, all copied from Ovid.

There are four love monologues.

According to Crestien's own statement at the beginning of his *Lancelot* (9) both the *matiere* and the *san* were given to him by Marie de Champagne. We are forced to conclude that Marie gave him some sort of a plot on which to work.⁶¹ Gaston Paris, whose studies on the Lancelot romances⁶² sum up and supersede the work of Jonckbloet,⁶³ Holland,⁶⁴ Bächtold,⁶⁵ and Maertens,⁶⁶ is of the opinion that the source of Crestien's poem is a Celtic epic, itself unknown to Crestien but coming to him in altered form through Anglo-Norman story-tellers. The originality of Crestien, according to Paris, is in the introduction of a new *motif* into the story: namely the love of Lancelot and Guenievre.⁶⁷

⁶¹ Cf. W. A. Nitze, "Säns et matiere dans les œuvres de Chrétien de Troyes," *Rom.*, XLIV (1915-17), 14-36.

⁶² Gaston Paris, "Lancelot du Lac," *Rom.*, X (1881), 470-496, and XII (1883), 459-534.

⁶³ W. J. A. Jonckbloet, *Le roman de la Charrette d'après Gauthier Map et Chrétien de Troies*, La Haye, 1850.

⁶⁴ W. L. Holland, *Crestien von Troies. Eine Literaturgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Tübingen, 1854.

⁶⁵ Jakob Bächtold, *Der Lanzelet des Ulrich von Zatzikhoven*, Frauenfeld, 1870.

⁶⁶ Paul Maertens, "Zur Lanzelotsage. Eine literarhistorische Untersuchung," *Boehmer's Romanische Studien*, V (1880), 557-706. Maertens treats extensively the work of former scholars on the Lancelot romances.

⁶⁷ The story of Queen Guenievre's abduction has often been compared to that of the *Wooing of Etain* (see John Rhys, *The Arthurian Legend*, Oxford, 1891, 64; G. L. Kittredge, *Harvard Studies and Notes*, VIII, 190, n. 2; K. G. T. Webster, *Englische Studien*, XXXVI (1906), 340; Gertrude Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, Frankfurt a.M. and London, 1913, II, 5-28, where more bibliography is to be found).

The sword-bridge has been treated by Miss Laura Hibbard, "The Sword-Bridge of Chrétien de Troyes and its Celtic Other-worlds," *Rom. Rev.*, IV (1913), 166 ff.

Miss Hopkins (*op. cit.*, 62) sees influence from Wace on the theme of Guenievre's infidelity and her liaison with some one closely related to Arthur. See also R. Thedens, *Li Chevalier as Deus Espees in seinem Verhaeltnis zu seinen Quellen insbesondere zu den Romanen Crestiens von Troyes*, Göttingen, 1908, 128.

Foerster was of the opinion that the *Totenreichmotif* in *Lancelot*, together

The main theme of the romance is that of adulterous love exalting the lady and debasing the man to a rôle of abject slavery to the will of his mistress. This theme is Ovidian. Provençal influences are certainly not to be denied, but Ovid is to be considered as the principal source of inspiration for the love treatment in this romance.

Briefly summarized, Gaston Paris gives the following description or analysis of the love in Crestien's *Lancelot*.⁶⁸ (1) It is illegitimate and furtive. The lover fears continually to lose his mistress, to be unworthy of her, to displease her. (2) He is therefore in an inferior position, always timid and trembling, while the lady is capricious toward him, often unjust, haughty, and disdainful. (3) To be worthy of her love, the man accomplishes all sorts of brave deeds and she, on her side thinks always of making him a better knight on account of her love. (4) Love is an art or science with elaborate rules.

This analysis could be applied to Ovidian love with very little modification. Gaston Paris was himself aware of this fact. Ovid's love is illegitimate and furtive, and love is always accompanied by fear in his works. It is the danger and risk that make love interesting and fascinating. Calm, quiet, assured love has no attraction for Ovid. It must be enhanced by the caprice of the lady. Her yielding must be delayed by changeableness, haughtiness and unjust treatment. Moreover the fear of losing one's mistress must continually give zest to the game. Ovid's heroes are ready to endure hardship or perform most difficult feats for the sake of winning their ladies' love or to get into their presence. Love is an art and a with the *Entführungsmotiv* interwoven in the story, was imitated from Ovid (see *Karrenritter*, lxxi). The present author cannot find sufficient evidence to substantiate this theory.

The boon that Arthur promises Ké without any specification in regard to it in advance and which has to be granted when stated though much against the desire of the king has parallels in the Ovidian stories of Phaeton (*Met.* II) and of Semeles (*Met.* III, 288 ff.); but this episode seems rather to be a variant of the *motif* known as the "rash boon," found in several Celtic stories, combined, as here, with that of the abduction of a married woman (see Miss Schoepperle, *op. cit.*, especially 424 ff. and 528 ff., where reference is made to articles touching on this subject by Kittredge, Schofield, and others).

⁶⁸ *Op. cit.*, 518.

science for which Ovid laid down most elaborate rules in his *Ars amatoria*.

In only two respects does Paris' analysis differ from one that might be made of Ovid's treatment of love. In Crestien and later French writers the code was taken more seriously and was accepted as actual love doctrine. This situation is due to the spirit of the Middle Ages. Authority, convention, and tradition were strong forces. The courtly love of the Middle Ages had also the quality of idealization which was lacking in Ovid. Woman was raised to a higher plane and love was supposed to strengthen and ennoble courage and character. This element of difference is due to the differing religions. It was that trait of idealization that needed to be added to Ovidian love to make it acceptable to Christian civilization. Crestien's genius lay in his appreciation of the psychological interest of Ovid's material and in his ability to adapt the Latin poet's keen observations and suggestions, transforming Ovid's fictions into a form that appealed to Christian taste.

Our study of the love situation in Crestien's works shows that the love treatment in *Lancelot* is not very different from that in *Cligès*. The difference lies in the attitude toward adultery, in an exaggerated development of the theme of the rôle of Love as tormentor and absolute master transferred to the lady, and in the change of emphasis from the physical effects of love that are prominent in *Cligès* but of much rarer occurrence in *Lancelot* to the slavish subservience of the lover to his lady's will. Crestien has brought out different phases of the Ovidian love conception in different works.

Whatever may have been the plot at Crestien's command, it is clear that, at most, such a framework could have served only as the frailest sort of support for the real story as Crestien conceived it. *Lancelot* appears to be a story of an abduction and rescue—whose otherworld character implies a probable Celtic source—upon which has been hung a most incongruous love-situation. It is the superimposed burden that constitutes the literary value and interest of the romance. All the episodes that bring out the humiliation of the lover, his obedience to his lady or his mental absorption in his love and the one that treats of the thought of suicide in the minds of both lovers are due to Ovidian influence.

Although Guenievre and Lancelot were characters already existing in previous literature, Crestien has made them over. Lancelot is as completely of the Ovidian type as a mediaeval knight could well be. Guenievre may have been a fairy-mistress originally but in Crestien's romance she has no personality and seems to serve in no other capacity than that of furnishing a lady to rescue and one who with every sort of impropriety personifies the suggestions that Ovid offers for a haughty mistress reducing her lover to deepest humility.

The following lines show Ovidian influence: 208, 364-81, 564-77, 631-8, 715-79, 1240-54, 1348-56, 1436-49, 1580-87, 3126-9, 3691-4, 3738-9, 3763-73, 3816-30, 3955-98, 4232-5, 4249, 4261-5, 4276, 4336-4414, 4494-7, 4501-9, 4560-3, 4695-4702, 4721, 4776-81. The action of lines 5658-5913, Crestien's original adaptation of the story of the three days tournament, is arranged to develop the theme that underlies the whole romance.

Love is personified as a god. It is treated metaphorically as a science and as a disease. Crestien has copied Ovid's metaphor of night conquering day and also the figure of sailing and arriving in port. There are love-monologues of the Ovidian type.

The source of *Yvain* has so far baffled the most ardent efforts of scholars in its search. The attempts at explaining its origin have been numerous and contradictory.⁶⁹ Crestien refers vaguely to a conte as his source:

⁶⁹ Most scholars since Rauch, *Die waelsche, franzoesische, und deutsche Bearbeitung der Iweinsage*, Berlin, 1869, have been of the opinion that *Yvain* is independent of the Welsh *Owein and Lunet*. Rauch and a great many scholars since have regarded Crestien's story as originally Celtic, at least in part. At the furthest pole on this side of the argument are to be ranged the articles of Professor A. C. L. Brown ("Iwain, A Study in the origins of Arthurian Romance," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Phil. and Lit.*, VIII, Boston, 1903. "The Knight of the Lion," *PMLA*, XX (1905), 673 ff.; and "Chrétien's 'Yvain,'" *Mod. Phil.*, IX (1911-12), 109 ff.), who suggests for almost every incident of Crestien's romance a parallel in a Celtic fairy-mistress story of the type of the *Sick-Bed of Cuchulinn*. W. A. Nitze connects the main episode of this romance ("A New Source of the Yvain," *Mod. Phil.*, III (1905-6), 267 ff., and "The Fountain Defended," *Mod. Phil.*, IX (1911-12), 109 ff.) with a possible folk-story embodying the theme of the Arician Diana myth, which he believes was prevalent especially in the Poitou region. The tale, according to Professor Nitze, may have been amalgamated with a Celtic story in Crestien's immediate source. Foerster has always maintained that no trace of a Celtic source is to be found in the main

6814

Del Chevalier au Lion fine
Crestiens son romanz ein si;
Qu'onques plus conter n'an oi.

This ending may be no more than a formula to which no meaning should be attached.⁷⁰ In the absence of definite proof to the contrary, however, it is probably best to assume that there may have been a popular tale that offered Crestien his first frame. Even granting that Professor Brown has shown more or less accurately what that original may have been, there is still a wide divergence between that story and Crestien's romance, and Crestien would need,

theme; namely, that of the relations between Laudine and Yvain (see *Wib.*, 106 ff.). He seeks the origin of *Yvain* in the *maerchen* of the Maiden captivated by a giant and claims that the incident of Jocaste's marriage with the slayer of her husband in the *Roman de Thèbes* was the source of Laudine's marriage with Yvain. In so doing he has given up his former theory that the story of the Widow of Ephesus was Crestien's source for this portion of the romance, and accepts, instead, the views of Van Hamel (*Rom. Forsch.*, XXIII (1907), 911 ff.), Voretzsch (*Einfuehrung in das Studium der altfranzoesischen Litteratur*,² 1913, 321), and Hilka (*Die direkte Rede als stilistisches Kunstmittel in den Romanen des Kristian von Troyes*, 1903, 128, n. 1). Rudolf Zenker ("Weiteres zur Mabinogionfrage," *ZfSS*, XLI (1913), 147) declares that this view is unjustified and maintains that an earlier hypothetical version of the *Yvain* must be the source of the Jocaste episode in *Thèbes*. Many other suggestions have been made in regard to the source of *Yvain*. Axel Ahlstrom ("Sur l'origine du Chevalier au lion," *Mélanges de philologie romane dédiés à C. Wahlund*, Mâcon, 1896) believes that Laudine was originally a swan-lady. Baist prefers to call her a "Wasserfrau" (see Gottfried Baist, "Die Quellen des Yvain," *ZRP*, XXI (1897), 402-405). Gaston Paris (*Rom.*, XVII (1888), 334-335) considered Laudine a fairy and compared the main theme of *Yvain* to that of *Guingamor*, etc., in which the husband of a fairy departs with the intention of returning but forgets a promise and so is not allowed to return. Heinrich Goossens (*Über Sage, Quelle, und Komposition des Chevalier des lyon des Crestien de Troyes*, Dissertation, Paderborn, 1883, 36) believes that Crestien's poem was based on an oral tale recounted by Celtic story-tellers at French courts. Franz Settegast (*Z. f. rom. Phil.*, XXXII, 416 ff.; *Die Antiken Elemente im altfranzoesischen Merowingersyklus*, Leipzig, 1907, 60 ff.; *Das Polyphemmaerchen in altfranzoesischen Gedichten*, Leipzig, 1917, 62 ff.) suggests historical, Byzantine sources, also the Cybele-Attis and Polyphemus legends. See Foerster, *Wib.*, 107, for bibliography; also Vollmoeller, *Kr. Jahrsb.*, VIII (1904), II, 311 ff., and *ibid.*, X (1906), II, 79 ff.—Rudolf Zenker's *Forschungen zur Artusepik I. Ivainstudien*. Halle, Niemeyer, 1921, 8vo, pp. xxviii, 356, containing elaborate analyses of the Theories of A. C. L. Brown, W. A. Nitze and other specialists, appears too late to be utilized in the present study.

⁷⁰ See Foerster, *Wib.*, 96.

as Professor Brown states,⁷¹ to be endowed with remarkable artistic talent in order to effect that transformation.

In transforming his source Crestien produces a love-intrigue modeled directly on the recommendations of Ovid. This intrigue was double; for after winning his lady's love Yvain loses it for a time, thereby becoming insane from grief; and, after recovering from his madness, wins his lady back again according to Ovidian precepts. The romance as a whole presents a loose structure with a number of episodes of interest in themselves but held together only by the theme of Yvain's love for Laudine with its intrigues and the suffering that it causes the lover. This love being of the Ovidian type it is evident that the influence of Ovid gives to this romance its real character and chief interest.

Laudine shows some Ovidian elements in her make-up, particularly as a harsh mistress who causes her lover much suffering. She is also the Ovidian woman of a thousands moods.⁷²

Lunete is the Ovidian go-between as servant of the lady, but is raised by her loyalty to her mistress and to Yvain to a high moral plane. Yvain by his obedience, patience, endurance of hardship, and especially by his insanity due to love is conceived to a large degree on the suggestions of Ovid.

It is the elements of insanity and of winning a lady by the help of a serving maid that are emphasized in *Yvain*. The physical effects of love appear, but much less extensively than in *Cligès*.

There are several episodes or incidents in *Yvain* that are due to Ovidian influence. These are the funeral of Laudine's husband at which Laudine attracts Yvain, her next husband; the first love-intrigue; Yvain's madness; the scene at the fountain based on the Pyramus and Thisbe story; the burning of the evil counsellors; and the second love-intrigue.

Love is personified as a god. Love is treated metaphorically as a disease and as warfare. There is also the metaphor of love's deep roots. Other figures of speech that are imitated from Ovid are the five similes of Yvain pursuing Esclados compared to a hawk after

⁷¹ *Op. cit.*, 147.

⁷² In marrying within a few days the man who killed her first husband, by turning from the second husband and then back to him again, Laudine proves herself very changeable.

a crane, of love compared to a horse that may be spurred on or reined in, of Gauvain compared to the sun, and of late-coming love compared to a green log.

There are three love-monologues; two by Yvain (1428 ff. and 3531 ff.) and one by Laudine (1760 ff.).

Borrowings from Ovid have been noted in the following lines: 14-17, 880-91, 1356-74, 1398-1402, 1920, 1959-63, 1875-2020, 2139-47, 2400-8, 2513-26, 2579, 2615, 2627, 2634-6, 2716-39, 2755-8, 2775-2814, 3490-3567, 4348-54, 4570-5, 4588-4600, 5375-88, 6513-16.

Perceval or the *Contes del Graal* appears to have a strong didactic purpose. The main interest is in the education and training of a knight. This training and the quest *motif* are the essential themes of the poem and they turn the development of the romance definitely away from love. *Perceval* gives up worldly comforts and joys for a greater purpose.⁷³ Nevertheless a small amount of Ovidian influence is to be found in this romance.

There is only one short love episode in this poem; namely that of the castle besieged by Clamadex (Baist, 1911 ff.; Potvin, 3127 ff.). This episode is developed with great subtlety; for it is combined with the motive of the lady's distress over the threatened attack of Clamadex, who wishes to have the lady as his bride. Moreover the psychological handling is clever; for even when *Perceval*'s hostess has arisen from her bed to enter the room of her guest in the middle of the night, she assures herself that it is only in order to tell him of her trouble.

Perceval has retired for the night and fallen at once into a sound sleep, for he knows nothing of the "deduit de pucele" (Baist: 1914-15) and thoughts of love do not keep him awake. His hostess, however, cannot sleep. This sharp contrast is significant. The reader familiar with the love-treatment of Crestien and other writers of the time who described the assaults of love upon the wakeful lover, tossing and turning upon his bed, trembling, perspiring, sighing, and weeping will immediately be struck by the suggestion implied in the contrast between the sound sleep of *Per-*

⁷³ Cf. Gottfried Baist, *Parzival und der Graal*, Prorektoratsrede, Freiberg i. Br., 1909, esp. 43-44.

ceval and the insomnia of the lady. The author explains that Perceval's hostess lies thinking because she is defenseless against "une bataille qui l'assaut" (1925). The wording of the text brings to our minds the love-warfare first because Clamadex and his attack are not mentioned until several lines later (1965 ff.); and the play on the words *bataille* and *assaut* is evident.

Until now, in the middle of the night, this self-possessed lady has played the rôle of courteous hostess whose attentions to the comfort of her guest are not disturbed by any anxiety. She has perfect control of herself the next morning also—on the very day when she fears that Clamadex may get her into his power (2056 ff.). This is the moment when we should expect her to tremble, sigh, and weep from fear. But it is evident that the only really uncontrollable fear that causes her to tremble and weep is love-fear. If she had wished only to induce Perceval to defend her, she would have asked him publicly to do so, or at least during waking hours.

Moreover, the earlier suggestion (1838 ff.) that the two future lovers were made for each other:

1848	Que l'un e l'autre semble
(Potvin,	Que dex l'un por l'autre feist,
3064)	Por ce qu'ensemble les meist;

the fact that the lady passed the rest of the night in Perceval's bed; also that Perceval asks and obtains her love the next morning (2079 ff.)—all indicates clearly that this is a love episode from the beginning. Perceval is so silent and backward that the lady must make the advances.

In *Perceval* love is personified as a god. The metaphors of love as a disease and as warfare occur. Lastly, Ovid's theory that all women can be won and that they mean "yes" when they say "no" is borrowed.

The passages that show influence from Ovid are as follows: 1923-42, 3817-38, 4164, 4173-4417,⁷⁴ 4823-6, 8912-23.

⁷⁴ This is the passage that deals with Perceval's absorption in thoughts of his mistress, brought on by the sight of blood drops on snow. The idea of the blood drops seems to have come out of Celtic literature (see Heinrich Zimmer, *Keltische Studien*, Berlin, 1884, II, 200 ff.) and the development of the action is Crestien's own invention.

The lyrics resemble those of Provence and thereby present a similar conception of love to that of Crestien's romances. Some direct influence from Ovid has been shown.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF CRESTIEN'S EARLY WORKS

The following remarks deal with the relative chronology of Crestien's early works and seek to prove that Crestien listed these works, with the exception of *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, in chronological order in his prologue to *Cligès*. The convincing feature in the evidence for our contention is the fact that the love-conception in all of Crestien's works except *Erec et Enide* and *Guillaume d'Angleterre* shows Ovidian influence whereas in these two poems it is free from such influence.

Analyzing the relations of the lovers in *Erec*, we find that the hero, who is a young and vigorous knight, meets Enide, a young lady so beautiful that the whole court of King Arthur, without a dissenting voice, declares her to be more beautiful than any that were there before her arrival. Enide is to serve Erec as his lady in a combat with another knight. Erec promises to marry Enide, whom he has found in rags. That he loves her dearly is very clear. He obtains his bride, however, in the most matter of fact way. There is no trace of the sort of love that we have found in *Philo-mena*, *Cligès*, and the later romances. Erec has no hesitation, but without fear and in the most straightforward manner asks the *vavassor* to give him his daughter in marriage:

660 Et vostre fille me bailliez
 Demain a l'espervier conquerre,
 Que je l'an manrai an ma terre,
 Se Deus la victoire me done;

None of the symptoms of love appear such as trembling, sighing, or fainting. There is no personification of love as a god; no mention of love-sickness.

696 Erec dormi po cele nuit

cannot be taken as meaning that his love for Enide kept him awake. The context preceding and following the line explains its meaning:

,691 Mout orent cele nuit vellie:

They all stay up very late that night and the next morning Erec was up

697 . . . lués que l'aube crieve.

A second night was spent at the home of the *vavassor* before Erec returned with Enide to Arthur's court:

1429 Cele nuit ont tote dormie.

No element of Ovidian love occurs in *Erec* except the idea that love gives courage and strength and the suicide *motif* from the Pyramus and Thisbe story (4608 ff.).

The notion that love gives courage and strength is a commonplace.¹

The suicide *motif* of the Pyramus and Thisbe story was repeatedly used by Crestien as we have noted several times in the course of this study. It is very probable that the passage in *Erec* was suggested to him by the Old French poem of *Pyrame et Thisbé*.²

Professor Nitze's comparison of *Amores* III, 3 ff. to a passage in *Erec* where Enide's eyes are described as glistening like stars, while one could mirror oneself in her beauty, does not prove Ovidian influence.³ Such descriptions are commonplace in the literature of the time.⁴ According to Faral, these descriptions were

¹ Found in *Erec*, 914 ff. and 5056 ff. Professor Nitze (*Mod. Phil.*, XI [1914], 449) has called attention to the fact that the conception of the love of ladies as a spur to valor already existed in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* (ed. San Marte, Halle, 1854). The final sentence of IX, 13, reads as follows: "Efficiebantur ergo castrae mulieres, et milites amore illarum meliores."

² Enide, mourning the supposed death of Erec, takes her husband's sword and intends to kill herself. This is the situation in the Pyramus story. There is also an apostrophe of death somewhat similar to that in the Old French *Pyrame et Thisbé*:

Erec, 4656

Morz que demore et que atant,
Que ne me prant sans nul respit?

P. et T., 754

Morz, que demores? Qar me prens!
He, Morz,
Por quoi demors? c'est granz torz
Que je ne sui or endroit morz.

³ *Erec*, 433-441. See Nitze, *Mod. Phil.*, XI (1914), 453, n. 2.

⁴ Cf. Edmond Faral, *Rom.*, XL (1911), 182 ff.; M. B. Ogle, *MLN*, XVII (1912), 239, and *Amer. Jour. of Phil.*, XXXIV (1913), 125 ff.; W. A. Nitze, *op. cit.*, 452, note.

developed in the schools and were much alike, being based, with more or less amplification, on set models.

The only classical influences that appear at all clearly in the love situation of *Erec* are found in connection with the *motif* of uxoriousness, which may be derived from Vergil.⁵

Erec is preeminently a psychological novel. The main theme of the poem treats of a brave young knight who has fallen into uxoriousness and of the effect of this situation on both the man and the woman. The inimitable knight appears no more in the lists. His former companions in arms murmur and gossip over the slothfulness of *Erec* until some remarks are reported to Enide. Her pride, both for herself and for her husband, is hurt by the slander that has come to her ears. She is unable longer to keep her dissatisfaction and grief to herself. Realizing the difficulty of the situation, she does not wish to anger *Erec* by reproaches and yet she wishes to induce him to regain his good reputation. For this reason she hesitates and appears to show a lack of frankness⁶ toward her husband. *Erec* is quite naturally disturbed by her embarrassment and, no doubt, has heard and guessed enough to realize that his wife is dissatisfied with him. He does not seem to be at all jealous,⁷ but he is in doubt about Enide's love for him. He knows that she is blameless from the point of view of her honor. Although he is not jealous, yet he is not sure that she loves him and respects him as much as he requires—if she had not proved herself ready to endure every hardship and to serve him and love him wholly according to his ideal of woman's love for man, *Erec* would never have returned home alive.⁸

⁵ *Erec*, 2434 ff. and *Aeneis*, IV. Cf. Ogle, *Rom. Rev.*, IX (1918), 18, and Nitze, *Mod. Phil.*, XI (1913), 458, n. 1; also *Rom. Rev.*, X (1919), 26 ff.

⁶ Cf. E. S. Sheldon, "Why does Chrétien's *Erec* treat Enide so harshly?" *Rom. Rev.*, V (1914), 115 ff., 120.

⁷ See, however, Gaston Paris, Review of Foerster, "*Erec und Enide*," *Rom.*, XX (1891), 148 ff., 163; also Zenker, *Zur Mabinogionfrage*, Halle, 1912, 74; Mario Roques, Review of Myrrha Borodine, "*La Femme et l'amour au XII^e siècle d'après les poèmes de Chrétien de Troyes*," *Rom.*, XXXIX (1910), 379; W. A. Nitze, "The Romance of *Erec*, Son of Lac," *Mod. Phil.*, XI (1914), 1-45, 3; also *Rom. Rev.*, X (1919), 26 ff., and Sheldon, *op. cit.*, 124.

⁸ This is to be inferred from the thorough and protracted test that *Erec* made of Enide's loyalty and from his statement at the end:

There can be no doubt that Erec has the sovereignty over his wife.⁹ It is clear that he believes he should have it; for he assumes complete authority naturally and Enide as naturally submits to that authority. Professor Nitze, believing the source of *Erec* to be Celtic, treats Enide as a rationalized fairy mistress. We are in no way concerned with popular or Celtic sources, here, and therefore do not need to consider whether Enide may have been a fairy in an earlier version. We do need, however, to insist on Crestien's artistic ownership of this romance which is, unquestionably, one of the best literary works of the twelfth century in France. The important fact for our particular problem is that Enide is not a fairy in Crestien's story¹⁰ nor does she have Erec at any time under any sort of control except that of love. It is very important to note, however, that this cannot be the control that was exercised by later heroines of courtly romances. Crestien had not yet developed the type of love that is to be found in *Lancelot* nor that of *Cligès*. Whatever control Enide may have lies in her submission "to the domination of the stronger sex."¹¹ Such was, unquestionably, the natural relation between man and wife according to the universal view of life in the North of France during the early twelfth century. That is the view that has been held by the vast majority of people down to the most recent times. Courtly love was a literary matter and its spread through high society was largely a literary influence on that life. This fact seems often to be lost from view. It is not uncommon to find data gleaned from mediaeval romances, in an attempt by historians to reconstruct the social history of the twelfth century, turned about by students of literature to serve as supposed evidence of an historical nature to aid them in solving literary problems.

Professor Sheldon (126) has noted the effectiveness of Crestien's art in portraying the natural timidity of Enide before her

4921 Bien vos ai del tot essaiee!
 Ne soiez de rien esmaiee,
 Qu'or vos aim plus, qu'ains mes ne fis,
 Et je resui certains et fis,
 Que vos m'amez parfitement.

⁹ Cf. Nitze, *Mod. Phil.*, XI, 4.

¹⁰ Cf. Sheldon, *op. cit.*, 118, n. 3.

¹¹ Nitze, *op. cit.*, 4.

husband. He has explained admirably how Erec curtly recognizes her justification and meanwhile forms a plan for testing her loyalty (we substitute the term "loyalty" for Professor Sheldon's "sincerity") and for solving the doubts that she has raised in his mind—a plan which he does not reveal to his wife at once. The plan is also, of course, for regaining his reputation as a valiant knight by following his wife's admonition:

2566 Autre consoil vos convient prandre,
 Que vos puissiez cest blasme estaindre
 Et vostre premier los ataindre;
 Car trop vos ai oï blasmer;

for he realizes that he is under just criticism:

2576 "Dame!", fet il, "droit an eüstes,
 Et cil qui m'an blasment ont droit."

Erec now subjects himself to the most difficult trials of his knightly prowess, but his wife must go with him and together they will prove themselves worthy. Erec will govern, however, and direct at all times; for he is in no sense a *courtois* lover. He is perfectly sure of himself and never admits that he was in the least at fault in his attitude toward his wife. He finally pardons her for the injury she has done him:

4929 "Et se vos rien m'avez mesdite,
 Jel vos pardoing tot et claim quite
 Del forfet et de la parole."

Crestien makes it clear that he is of the same opinion as Erec by telling his readers at the opening of this episode that Enide

2487 . . . dist une parole,
 Dont ele se tint puis por fole;

and, though she did not realize at the time that she was doing any harm, yet she blamed herself bitterly afterward:

2606 Mes trop m'a orgiauz sozleeve:
 An mon orguel avrai damage,
 Quant je ai dit si grant outrage,
 Et bien est droiz que je l'i aie.

The author says for himself :

2584 Or est Enide an grant esfrei :
Mout se lieve triste et pansive,
A li sole tance et estrive
De la folie qu'ele dist ;
Tant grate chievre que mal gist.

Later, on account of her contrition :

3100 Onques la nuit ne somella,
Ainz tint par les frains an sa main
Les chevaus jusqu'a l'andemain,
Et mout s'est blasmee et maudite
De la parole qu'ele ot dite,
"Lasse!" fet ele, "con mar vi
Mon orguel et ma sorcuidance!

In fact, Enide has slandered her husband and she has allowed her pride to lead her to express disapproval of her husband's conduct, thus showing disrespect but also apparent disloyalty toward Erec because she seems to side with his detractors. Moreover, she is guilty of one of the seven deadly sins; namely, pride.

Erec's treatment of his wife is not surprising. It is natural. If his treatment of Enide had not been stern and reproving we would need to explain it. The reason that this perfectly natural conduct of Erec has puzzled scholars is, without doubt, the fact that they have looked upon this romance in the light of Crestien's love-treatment in the later romances. The truth of this statement is borne out by Foerster's use of the term *minnedienst*¹² or the citation of Guinizelli's "Al cor gentil ripara sempre Amore."¹³ The use of the term "minnedienst" is, to say the least, highly misleading and the comparison of the love-treatment in *Erec* to that of Guinizelli is entirely out of place. Crestien was never "touched with mysticism" nor is he at this time the poet of courtly love. In order to understand *Erec* it is necessary to realize that Crestien has not yet developed that new, artificial attitude toward love through the study of Ovid and the influences from the South.

¹² *Erec und Enide*, 1909, xviii.

¹³ See B. M. Woodbridge, "Chrétien's Erec as a Cornelian Hero," *Rom. Rev.*, VI (1915), 442.

Once rid of this false conception, we may examine the situation in our romance with the expectation of understanding its psychology clearly.

The theme of *Erec* is that of love and "sovereignty" wounded by pride and misunderstanding—a theme of universal experience and therefore of universal interest. The sovereignty is taken for granted—a thing that Chaucer could scarcely do, nor could Crestien have done so after *Cligès*. Erec, slandered by his own subjects and former companions, is angered by his wife's disrespect for his sovereignty and deeply grieved by her disloyalty toward his love for her and by her appearance of loving him much less than he had supposed. Restrained anger and grief well up in his heart so that speech is impossible. He can only act. And yet Erec is at no time unjust or cruel toward his wife—granted of course the circumstances and the authority of a husband. He humbles her only by way of reproof. Her service as squire is not unusual; she had already served in a like capacity (451 ff.) when Erec first met her at her father's house. Erec uses no violence nor any undignified or injurious language toward his wife. In fact Crestien has dealt so lightly and artfully with this interesting conjugal problem that he has kept our sympathy and admiration for both the man and the woman.

The theme of the slothful lover was well known in Crestien's time on account of its frequent occurrence in Classical Latin literature.¹⁴ The best known example of the love-sick hero was, of course, Virgil's Aeneas.¹⁵ In calling attention to this fact, Professor Nitze has stated that the Dido-Aeneas situation is not that of *Erec*. The wide divergence between the two situations is apparent. The theme, however, is the same except that Crestien carries it farther and, instead of separating the lovers, effects a reconciliation. In Virgil, the Dido story is a subordinate episode in which the theme of uxoriousness is used only as a reversal of the hero's fortune in order to heighten the interest of the narrative; whereas in *Erec* it is the main theme.

¹⁴ Cf. M. B. Ogle, "The Sloth of Erec," *Rom. Rev.*, IX (1918), 1 ff., esp. 9 ff.

¹⁵ Cf. Nitze, *Mod. Phil.*, XI (1914), 14, and *Rom. Rev.*, XI (1919), 34. Professor Nitze has noted (*Mod. Phil.*, XI, 12) the elaboration of the danger of sloth in the speech of Cadore in Wace's *Brut* (11021 ff.).

already translated the chief source of this notion; namely, the *Ars amatoria*; for it is unquestionably the work of translation or adaptation that inspired Crestien so thoroughly with this Ovidian manner of treating love that he never ceased to reveal its influence after once having become infatuated with it.

Philomena, the translation of Ovid's *Ars amatoria*, and the Pelops story, collectively designated by Foerster as the *Ovidiana*, have generally been considered as the earliest of Crestien's work. Gaston Paris puts *Philomena* first of all, then the translation of the *Ars amatoria*, and third the Pelops story or *Mors de l'espaule*. Both Paris and Foerster place the *Tristan* or *Del roi Marc et d'Iseut la blonde* next, then *Erec*, *Cligès*, *Lancelot*, *Yvain*, and *Perceval* in the order named except that Foerster places *Guillaume d'Angleterre* immediately after *Cligès*. Paris would also give the last named work the same relative date if one insists on attributing it to Crestien.¹⁷

Our study of the love-treatment in Crestien's work has shown that this order of our poet's works is incorrect. It is not the order in which Crestien listed them himself in the prologue to *Cligès*:

Cil qui fist d'Erec et d'Enide,
Et les comandemanz Ovide
Et l'Art d'Amors an romanz mist
Et le Mors de l'Espaule fist,
Del roi Marc et d'Iseut la blonde,
Et de la Hupe et de l'Aronde
Et del Rossignol la Muance

This order was disturbed to fit the theory that Crestien began his career as a poet with translations inspired by his study of the classics during his school days.

The order in which Crestien arranged his works in the prologue to *Cligès* is, according to Paris,¹⁸ of no consequence, being determined by the exigencies of the rhyme. Foerster is of the same opinion,¹⁹ although he admits that the theory in regard to the rhyme can be no more than a supposition. The more natural hypothesis,

¹⁷ See Foerster, *Wtb.*, 23 ff., and Gaston Paris, *JdS*, 1902, 293.

¹⁸ See *JdS*, 1902, 292.

¹⁹ See *Wtb.*, 24.

however, is that Crestien listed his works in chronological order. At least we may say that the argument based on the rhyme is of no importance. Meyer-Lübke²⁰ rejects this argument and suggests different lines in proof of his claim that Crestien was not forced to list his works in a certain order on account of the rhyme. Meyer-Lübke's lines do not follow the order that Paris considered the actual chronological order in which Crestien wrote them. For that reason six lines are here suggested as possible Old French lines that may serve to show that the poet was not obliged to follow any set order in enumerating his early works but could have given them in the order supposed by Paris to be chronological:

Cil qui de Philomena fist,
Et l'Art d'Amors an romanz mist,
Les regles d'Ovide rima;
Le Mors de l'Espaule conta,
Et del roi Marc et d'Iseut dist,
Et d'Erec et d'Enide fist

De Boer takes up this question in the introduction to his edition of *Philomena*. On page cix he declares that we have the right to conclude that *Philomena* is the "première en date des œuvres connues de Chrétien de Troyes" for the following reasons:

1. Use of "el" for "ele" rather frequently. This form occurs only two or three times in the great romances of Crestien.²¹ This argument by itself proves nothing. Crestien might have used the form at any point in his career. If we found it used frequently in two or three poems and not at all in the rest then we might be justified in making a division of his works on this ground.

2. A tendency to give long descriptions, whereas in his later works Crestien contented himself with giving short indications. De Boer cites two such cases: the long description of Philomena's moral perfections and the description of the supper (172 ff. and 582 ff.). As for the first of these descriptions we have found (Section B, above) that it was borrowed from Ovid's *Ars amatoria*. This fact establishes a strong probability that Crestien had already

²⁰ Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke, "Crestien von Troyes Erec und Enide," *ZfSS*, 1916-17, 130.

²¹ Foerster (*Wib.*, 25) says that this form occurs but once and then in *Yvain* (6639).

translated the *Ars* and had thus become familiar with this passage from which he copied. Moreover, the expansion of the love-treatment in *Philomena* on the basis of the *Ars amatoria*, the *Remedia amoris*, and the *Amores* points in the same direction. Having then just translated one or more of these works already, it is natural that Crestien should display his learning here to some extent. It might be argued that the shortness of *Philomena* could easily account for longer descriptions than those to be found in the longer romances. Crestien had no need to strive to keep *Philomena* short. He probably wished rather to lengthen it by such means. At any rate De Boer qualifies the description of the supper as a "description sommaire, comme on en trouve beaucoup dans la littérature du temps," thus destroying his own argument.

3. "Moins de hardiesse dans l'emploi de certaines figures stylistiques." This argument rests on the following evidence, which seems too meager to constitute a very strong case: "l'emploi de la métaphore est fréquent mais peu remarquable" and the poet's failure to use the word "corps" ('self') in the place of a pronoun.

4. The repetition of the author's name at the beginning of the second part of the poem, whereas, in *Erec*, he simply indicates the end of the first part without naming himself (1844) and in *Cligès* the break is still less precisely indicated. To this should be added the hypothesis that Crestiens li Goïs was the name that our author bore in his youth. De Boer places this break between a supposed first and second part between lines 726 and 727, making the new part start with "but" and having the word "il" refer to Pandion, who fades out of the story at this point, as the subject of the verb in the first line. Moreover Pandion, who belongs only to the first part, is carried across the dividing line to survive only through the first line of the second part. De Boer would have us consider this break clearer than that in *Erec* where we read:

Erec, 1844 Ci fine li premerains vers.

or that in *Cligès*:

2382 L'anfant apelerent Cligès.
 Nez est Cligès an cui memoire

Here the parents of Cligès do not appear in the second part, which

deals with the story of Cligès himself. The corresponding lines from *Philomena* follow:

726 N'an sa terre ne ranterra (Philomena),
 Mes de tot ce ne panse il (Pandion)

The name which De Boer considers the name of Crestien de Troyes does not appear until we reach line 734 and yet the preceding lines have nothing of the character of a prologue or introduction. In fact the two lines 733-4:

La meisons estoit an un bois,
 —Ce conte Crestiens li Gois—

commonplace and ugly in the midst of fine, smoothly flowing lines are clearly out of place. They shock the reader's ear and reveal their origin. They are from the pen of a commentator and not a poet. It is evident that these two lines were inserted by the author of the *Ovide moralisé*.²² He has told us so himself. Why doubt his statement? The name of the author of the *Ovide moralisé* appears on two manuscripts of this huge poem and on another manuscript, which contains only the table of the contents of this poem his name is given as Crestiens de Gowais de Seynt More vers Troyes, de l'ordre des frere menours. In the other manuscripts his name is given in the oblique case as Crestien Le Gouays de Sainte More vers Troyes.²³ The author of the *Ovide moralisé* tells us in the epilogue to his poem that he is of this order of monks.²⁴ There is no evidence to prove that the annotations on the manuscripts are incorrect. It is therefore probable that the annotators were well informed. The *Ovide moralisé* was very popular in the time of Eustache Deschamps, who mentions the author of the *Ovide moralisé* among those who, according to him, have brought glory to Champagne.²⁵ No doubt Deschamps possessed much information in regard to this poem and its author that we lack to-day.²⁶

²² *Philomena* is taken from this poem, where it is embedded.

²³ See De Boer, *Philomena*, Introduction, viii ff.

²⁴ See De Boer, *op. cit.*, xii.

²⁵ *Œuvres*, VIII, 178, ed. of Soc. des anc. textes français.

²⁶ The arguments of Antoine Thomas ("Chrétien de Troyes et l'auteur de l'*Ovide moralisé*," *Rom.*, XII [1893], 271 ff.) are qualified by De Boer (*op. cit.*,

Crestien Legouais, the author of the *Ovide moralisé*, was a prosaic and pedantic scholar of the fourteenth century who took it upon himself to explain and moralize upon Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. He translated and amplified his model. Having at hand Crestien de Troyes' translation of the Philomela episode he preferred to use that rather than make his own translation or adaptation; and he tells us that he has given a faithful copy of his predecessor's poem:

Mais je n'en descrirai le conte
Fors si com Cretiens le conte,
Qui bien en translata la letre.
Sur lui ne m'en vueil entremetre;-
Tout son dit vos raconterai
Et l'alegorie en trairai.²⁷

This explains why he felt obliged to state clearly that he himself added the statement about the house being in a wood. He had noticed that Crestien de Troyes had failed to make the explicit statement and as commentator he was unable to resist this temptation to clarify the text and at the same time make use of a convenient rhyme with his own name. De Boer believes that Gois is the name of the town of Gouais where he supposes that our Crestien was born. In such a case the rhyme with "bois" would have been impossible in the twelfth century and Crestien de Troyes could not have written the lines. Moreover, Crestien named himself in *Erec* Crestien de Troyes. We have proven *Philomena* a later work. It is obvious that Crestien would not have named himself subsequently after the small town of Gouais, Troyes being the capital of Champagne. This fact alone proves that Crestien li Gois is not Crestien de Troyes.

It follows from the above discussion that the translations from Ovid mark a clear-cut break in the work of Crestien, as is proven by the love treatment which is so different in *Erec* from that in all the

xii) as "complicated" and "ingenious." Thomas believes that the author of the *Ovide moralisé* is not Crestien Legouais; but his sole evidence is the supposition that the annotators who put the name of Legouais on the manuscripts which bear them made two bad blunders, supplied arbitrary information of their own, and yet were as ingenious in fabricating the complication as he in explaining it. He is obliged also to suppose that Eustache Deschamps is misinformed.

²⁷ Cited from De Boer, *op. cit.*, vi.

works following these translations.²⁸ It is also clear that *Philomena* probably followed the translation of the *Ars amatoria* because the love treatment as well as certain specific borrowings in *Philomena* show an unusual interest in the *Ars amatoria*, which interest is best explained by supposing that the Ovidian work that Crestien lists first in *Cligès* was the first chronologically. Thus we have shown the probability that four of the early works of Crestien were written in the order in which he himself listed them; namely *Erec*, *Art d'Amors*, *Philomena*, *Cligès*. It is probable that all were chronologically given that appear in the *Cligès* list.

Having established this division of Crestien's works on the basis of the influence of Ovid on the love-treatment, it is a simple matter to assign other works that may at any time be attributed to our author to the earlier or the later period of his literary career. If Maurice Wilmotte's recent arguments for the authenticity of *Guillaume d'Angleterre*²⁹ are finally to convince the scholarly world that Crestien de Troyes wrote this poem it will be necessary to group it with *Erec* because the love-treatment in the *Guillaume* is not that of the later period. Nowhere in the series from the translation of the *Ars amatoria* on to the end of his life is there a place for such a poem as the *Guillaume d'Angleterre*. Although the work is not mentioned in the prologue to *Cligès*, it is necessary to date it earlier or to discard it from the works of our author. Paris is unquestionably right in pointing out the incongruity of this work among those of Crestien after *Cligès*.³⁰ Crestien may have failed to mention

²⁸ It may be added that scholars have generally considered *Erec* as a very early work (cf. Suchier's *History of Old French Literature*, 143). The presence of assonance has been noted in contrast to the careful treatment of rhyme in the other romances. Long lists of names occur in *Erec*, while lists of such length were later avoided by Crestien. In *Erec* he mentions the *Chansons de gestes*—a thing that, according to Suchier, scarcely occurs in later Arthurian romances. At the end of the first division of *Erec*, Crestien uses a formula common in the epic:

1844

Ci fine li premerains vers.

F. M. Warren was inclined, from his study of the style in Crestien's works (*Mod Phil.*, IV [1906-7], 670), to consider *Erec* an early work of our author.

²⁹ "Chrétien de Troyes et le conte de Guillaume d'Angleterre," *Rom.*, XLVI (1920), 1-38.

³⁰ Gaston Paris, *JdS*, 1902, 306, n.3: "il tranche singulièrement tant par le talent que par le ton et l'esprit de l'un et de l'autre."

several of his earlier works in *Cligès*. Having turned to a new manner, it is quite natural that he should have mentioned solely the best one of the works of the earlier period which preceded the influence of Ovid on his love-psychology.

The love-treatment in *Guillaume d'Angleterre* contains none of the characteristic Ovidian elements that occur in every love episode or reference to love in *Cligès*, *Lancelot*, *Yvain*, and *Perceval*. There is abundant opportunity in this tale for the psychological study of love and its effect on the characters of the story. The fact that it belongs to a group of stories known under the general formula of the *Man Tried by Fate*⁸¹ has nothing to do with this question. The freedom with which Crestien transformed his material to suit his own purposes is sufficiently clear from the incidental evidence that has come out in the present study to warrant the statement that Crestien would have retold this story in his own way and with his own interpretation.

The love of the King and the Queen in this story is portrayed as very great. The Queen makes every sacrifice in order to accompany her husband in his wanderings and later resists every temptation to become disloyal to him while they are separated. And yet the separation (753 ff.), though accompanied by grief, does not produce any such result as the separation of Cligès and Fenice or of Yvain and Laudine. It is impossible to believe that Crestien would not have introduced some suggestion of mental absorption,⁸² madness, or a desire to commit suicide on the part of the King or the Queen if he had written the *Guillaume* after *Cligès*.

Gleolaïs became so enamoured of the Queen (1087 ff.) that he

⁸¹ Cf. Philip Ogden, *A Comparative Study of the Poem, Guillaume d'Angleterre, with a Dialectic Treatment of the Manuscripts*, Johns Hopkins Dissertation, 1904, and G. H. Gerould, "The Eustace Legend," *PMLA*, XIX (1904), 335 ff.

⁸² A similarity appears—cf. Wilmotte (*op. cit.*, 9-10)—between the trance of Guillaume (2596 ff.) at his wife's table when he imagines that he is hunting and the cases of mental absorption caused by love that occur in the romances. In the romances the heroes are suffering from love-sickness and they are thinking of their mistresses; Guillaume's thoughts wander away from his love of the Queen and he dreams while waking. There is complete absorption of the mind in both cases and Crestien may have had the consciousness of a connection between some of the situations that Wilmotte has brought together, but from a literary point of view there is a vast difference between the thought of Guillaume here and that of a man filled with thoughts of love.

was willing to marry her whatever her rank and conduct may previously have been. Gleolaïs conceived this love for the Queen while his first wife was still living, and kept his love a secret until after the death of his wife. It is not possible to believe that Crestien in his second period would have failed to analyze the passion of this old man. We would hear something about the fierce heat of love that comes late or the torture of secret love glowing like fire under the ashes. The courtship of Gleolaïs is most business-like and the marriage is effected under the stipulation that there shall be no sexual intercourse for a year. The author of such a love episode might have been he who wrote *Erec et Enide* before his interest in Ovidian love had been awakened, but surely not that Crestien of the latter period who had acquired a new psychology of love.

A third situation that is of interest to us is that of the meeting of King William and his wife (2432 ff.) after their long separation. Their love is undiminished, and we might expect their recognition of each other to be accompanied by sighs, trembling, or tears. Not only is this not the case but, on the contrary, the King soon begins to think of hunting rather than of his love.

We must conclude that if *Guillaume d'Angleterre* was written by Crestien de Troyes it must be placed chronologically either before *Erec*, or, as is more probable, between *Erec* and the translation of the *Ars amatoria*.

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